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ABSTRACT

This is the 1970 volume of working papers related to the field of teaching English as a second language (TESL). Several articles concern topics on language instruction: the art of language teaching, bilingual education, literature study, composition writing, testing by dictation, problems of elementary school teachers, English curriculums for non-English speakers, computer applications and second language learning. Other articles concern language-teacher preparation: suggested areas of research by Masters-Degree students, programs for specializing in teaching English to the disadvantaged in American schools, and staffing schools in developing countries. Papers on linguistic theory include diacritics in modern English graphology and the pragmatics of communication. Abstracts of masters theses approved during the year are also included. (VM)

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teaching english as a second language

work papers

volume IV

PREFACE

Workpapers, published by the Department of English at UCLA, is a yearly publication which began in 1967 under the editorship of Earl Rand. From this edition on, each publication will be designated by a volume number. Copies of the first three Workpapers are still available.

The purpose of the Workpapers has remained constant over the four issues: to offer a set of "working papers" on diverse topics related to the field of Teaching English as a Second Language in order to obtain feedback from as many people as possible. (Our thanks to those who commented on the 1969 edition.) This year, however, a slight variation on the original theme has developed: Professors are now submitting more than one article each and the general content of the articles is beginning to be more predictable as individuals delve deeply into their areas of specialization. Also, there is an increased number of pragmatic papers on various aspects of programs in TESL training, both on the Certificate and masters degree levels. The number of contributors and range of articles has increased over last year's edition, and we no longer feel it necessary to justify the diversity of content.

We are extremely fortunate again this year to have a contribution from our second-year visiting scholar, Vilém Fried, who has just left the United States on his way back to Charles University, Prague, Czechoslovakia. J. Donald Bowen and Earl Rand remained abroad for an additional year, and we appreciate their extra effort in sending us their articles. Both professors will be back at UCLA for the 1970-71 school sessions. Two new members of our faculty, Evelyn Hatch and John W. Oller, Jr. have added new dimensions both to the Department and to the Workpapers.

In the 1969 edition we initiated the publication of abstracts of masters degrees awarded to students in TESL during the year. In this volume there are ten such abstracts to be added to the list. Again, we are impressed with the high degree of scholastic excellence demonstrated in their achievement and wish them much success.

During the year a compilation of the works of Tommy R. Anderson was made, and rather than publishing one or two of his articles in Workpapers, we have bound the entire collection and placed it in the University's English Reading Room, located in the Humanities Building.

Finally, we would like to once again acknowledge the assistance of Maryruth Bracy in editing Volume IV, designing the cover, and seeing to its publication in this current format. Pamela Hadjeri typed the final copy from which this is photo offset.

Additional copies of Volume IV may be obtained by writing to:

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HOW INDIAN INDIAN EDUCATION?

Robert D. Wilson

The title of this paper might lead you to expect that I intend to get involved in an evaluation of Indian culture. After all, it is a common practice for education to transmit culture. It can hardly avoid doing so. I am much more interested in developing students' attitudes toward culture itself. Still, it is not this interest that I will pursue in this paper - except for a few remarks here in the introduction.

The issue is whether a culture has the right to demand allegiance. On what does a culture have its right to demand allegiance? The fact that an individual was born into that culture? That is a historical accident. Very much like one's native language is a historical accident. If a man may change languages, why can't he change cultures? Why, indeed, can't he gain a new language and a new culture while keeping the original language and culture? Why, even, can't he learn a new language and a new culture and then decide not to use the new language and not to participate in the new culture?

Cultures are necessary: they serve as frames of reference - a system of common foci - for socializing, and socializing in this manner provides an individual with a kind of identity: a name. Good. But we must keep in mind that a name serves the individual, not the individual the name.

A culture provides both wisdom and prejudice. Outgrowing one's native culture means keeping its wisdom and rejecting its prejudice. And sorting out the two is a search for universals, for what makes a human-being human rather than what makes a human-being American or Russian, Navajo or Hopi, Mexican or Puerto Rican, Filipino or Japanese.

The title of this paper refers to the uses and non-uses of native language in a bilingual curriculum. The question is not whether the students' native language will be included in the curriculum. It will. And the matter for discussion is curriculum, not TESL programs. TESL programs have generally confined themselves to the teaching of communication. Curriculum, on the other hand, makes one of its major objectives the development of *thinking*. It is this common - though not universal - disparity between the objective of TESL and the objective of curriculum that has made TESL a four-letter word among many educators. For those pupils who will remain in the U.S. and become students in high school, scholars in college, and professionals in graduate school, the learning of English cannot be one of mere communication.

What does it mean to think in a language? Let's adopt an operational definition. To think in a language means to have a direct rule-governed system between thought and a particular language - in contradistinction to having two distinct rule-governed systems indirectly related: one system between thought and one's native language, say Navajo, and another system between Navajo and the language of instruction. This inability to think directly in English is the handicap of many of the foreign students in our universities, who have had several years of ESL before deplaning at our airports. They communicate well-enough in English to pass the overseas TOEFL test, read English textbooks, and listen to a lecture, but they are unable to understand as well and as much as those who think directly in English. (Note that this definition is inadequate because it does not explain the fact that there are varying degrees in the ability to think in English even among native speakers of English. In other words, fluency in a language does not necessarily mean a high degree of thinking.)

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* This paper was delivered at: NAFSA-ATESL, 1970
Kansas City, Missouri

I will not delineate here a system of definitions that attempts to relate thought and language. For that I refer you to the paper I used at the TESOL convention last month. Suffice it to say here that I hold to the notion that thinking in a language is innate and specific to the human species, that it is a structuring process permitting humans to organize experience symbolically, to categorize and subordinate, to predicate, coordinate, and elaborate, to compare, to check, to calculate, etc.

Keeping these things in mind, let us now turn to two basic plans for bilingual schools described by Bruce Gaarder in a 1963 paper. One plan calls for instruction of all subjects in the students' native language during half of the school day, then reteaching all the subjects in English during the other half of the school day. Let's call this the *half-and-half plan*. Gaarder's other plan apportions the students' native language to such subjects as Social Studies and native-language arts, while English is used for the rest of the curriculum, which includes areas like Science and Mathematics. Let's call this the *less-than-half plan*. A third plan has since emerged, for example, in many of the projects supported by Title VII known as the Bilingual Act. This plan calls for the curriculum in the just three or even five years to be entirely in the pupils' native language except for one period daily of ESL. Let's call this the *more-than-half-plan*.

To better understand the implications of these three different plans, I will now sketch a class of learning problems, one that has come to be taken under the heading of reading in curriculum. I use the word, *reading*, merely to establish a common focus with you.

Reading programs concern themselves with two types of problems. Basal reading programs emphasize the extraction of meaning, concentrating in particular on vocabulary. Alphabet-oriented reading programs emphasize deciphering the code - the system of signals - that frame meaning. Let me take up the learning of vocabulary first.

For the school child, learning vocabulary is not simply learning everyday vocabulary of the kind found in most TESL programs but also the technical vocabulary of disciplines like arithmetic and geometry. Furthermore, it means that the child must make a connection between the phonemic and/or graphemic shape of a morpheme and a syntactic function in order to determine its syntactic class. He must also make a connection between the phonemic/graphemic shape of a morpheme and its context in order to determine a sense that will match the meaning intended by the teacher or reader. When the child has determined the syntactic class and the phonemic/graphemic shape of a particular meaning, he may be said to have acquired a morpheme, in other words a dictionary entry in his grammar of the language.

Observe that the meaning of this new morpheme in the child's vocabulary is just one meaning of a morpheme that might possibly have other meanings in the language. For example, he might have just learned *only* that the phonemic/graphemic shape *chair* has the meaning "something to sit on," and he has got to learn the meaning, "academic position in a university." Moreover, and more importantly for the technical vocabulary of the disciplines, he still has to learn such meanings of *chair* as "piece of furniture," "optionally related to *table* in a way it is *not* related to "*footstool*," and "similar to, yet different from *bench*." I am referring of course to categorization and relational meaning.

As if this were not enough, meaning relationships like the ones I have described are themselves vocabulary-learning tasks, tasks requiring the child to learn vocabulary like: *same as*, *different from*, *member of*, *used for*, etc.

The learning problems of decoding will be described more within the framework of bilingual pedagogy. It is quite common these days to hear the claim that there are many possibilities for positive transfer for the reading of English after literacy is achieved in a native language, specially if the native language makes use of the set of shapes known as the Roman alphabet. Transfer depends - though not exclusively - on shared notions. What notions are common to both Navajo or Spanish and English reading?

(1) That combinations of the Roman alphabet produce linguistic meaning.
(2) That reading in these particular languages goes from left to right and top to bottom.
(3) That words are separated by spaces.
(4) That certain punctuation marks have the same interpretation.
(5) That some of the letters have the same pronunciation value, in isolation, as in English, e.g., m is a bilabial nasal.

I am hard put to find anything else. On the other hand, the following are not shared, to name but a few:

(1) Spelling patterns, i.e., the distribution of letters. This is a particularly insidious difficulty for the student who has already learned the spelling patterns of one language since the triggering effect of the shape of the letters (the shape of the letters in both languages being identical) is to elicit a Navajo-reading response. There are two hurdles here: providing an English-reading response and responding quickly since it is now believed that speed reading is an aid to comprehension, not a hindrance. (May E. Seagoe, A Teacher's Guide to Learning Process, p. 55)
(2) The relationship between the sound system and the spelling system, this relationship being a systemic one and specific to each different language:
(3) There is first the relationship between the phonetic system and the spelling system. That is, the surface relationship, (e.g., Tim-team, Tim-trim, team-steam stream) as spelling patterns reflecting the monothong-dipthong and consonant clustering contrasts of the English phonetic system, both different in Spanish.
(4) Then there is the relationship between the phonological system (read the Chomsky-Halle version) and the spelling patterns, that is, the deep relationship, e.g., caress (strong cluster), woman (weak cluster) as spelling patterns reflecting the stress patterns of the language.
(5) Morphemes in different languages become different printed words. The plural morpheme becomes as affix in English but a separate word in Tagalog. Compare also the long polymorphemic words of German with the words of English.
(6) The syntactic systems of different languages are not generally indicated in print (except for periods, commas, and such) and have to be learned anew for each new language. Compare, for example:

No/comieron. They/did not/eat.

where the meaning "they" is marked by the verb in this Spanish sentence but by they at the beginning of the sentence in English. It is important to appreciate the student's task here. A student who expects to read English directly will not expect to find the expression of "they" in the verb, among other things, and is thus immediately receptive to the they in the English sentence (and to the did, too). On the other hand, the student whose strategy for reading in English is that of transfer from Spanish will expect they either

> at the beginning or the end of the sentence (*Ellos no comieron* - *No comieron ellos*) or not at all. Besides, he will expect a "they" marker in the verb. He must consequently have rules saying NO to each of these before he can read the English sentence, slowing down his reading and increasing the chances of inadequate understanding since he is attending to many more rules. Now multiply these by the hundreds of syntactic rules in the two languages!

In other words, for all the subsystems of language involved in reading, the use of "transfer" from one language to another is as complex a skill as that of simultaneous translation, an ability mastered by only a few after many years of specialized training.

Given the problem of learning vocabulary and decoding as I have just described it, how would one of the current learning theories explain this great achievement of learning vocabulary?

According to this other theory an associative bond is established between a phonemic shape and the context in which it is found by repeated simultaneous perception of the sound of the morpheme and its context, generating meaning, the meaning being the context. The notion of an associative bond is not meant to be a mental phenomenon but simply a mechanical juxtaposition, often referred to as a probability. B.F. Skinner puts it this way (and I quote): "...the probability that the speaker will emit a response of a given form in the presence of a stimulus having specified properties under certain broad conditions of deprivation or aversive stimulation.....*is* the relation of reference or meaning." Furthermore, association of the shape of the morpheme with other contexts generates new bonds, that is, multiple meanings for the same phonemic shape. Conversely, the number of multiple meanings to a word may decrease, that is, be forgotten, through the absence of repetition, of reinforcement, of the mechanical association between the sound of a morpheme and some of its contexts.

This is a theory developed by B.F. Skinner, applying the achievements in the study of animal behavior to complex human behavior. This extension of a theory of animal behavior to human behavior assumes that linguistic behavior, for example, is not specific to a species. This is a strange assumption in view of the fact that there are qualitative differences in problem-solving strategies even between rats and fish. It is not surprising then that Skinner's generalization of his theory of animal behavior to human behavior is not widely shared even by his own colleagues. However, it *is* surprising that Skinner has had a marked influence on general education, on TESL, and now on bilingual curriculum. For a criticism of Skinner's influence in TESL, see Leon Jakobovit's article in *Language Learning* early last year.

For designers of bilingual curricula, Skinner's view that the relationship between a phonemic shape and its referent is not more intimate than mere probability allows the curricular implication that conceptual development in the garb of the phonemic shapes of one language will create very minor problems when the concepts developed in one language are later garbed in the phonemic shapes of another language. Add to this the evidence marshalled by McNamara that with *traditional methodologies of instruction* conceptual development is more easily effected in the native language of the students, and you have the two major bases for designing the more-than-half type of curriculum in which the just three or even five years the medium of instruction will be, in the main, in the students' native language.

The half-and-half type of curriculum, too, is based on these two assumptions. However, it also adopts the approach that the concepts developed in the garb of one language will more likely be transferred, that is, dressed up in the garb of the second language if this transfer is done as soon as possible, indeed, within the same day. This approach, too, is considered feasible and promising because the problem of transfer, the problem of changing languages is believed to be almost as simple as changing clothes.

The less-than-half type of curriculum is the least ambitious of the three, making use of the pupils' native language in such areas as Social Studies and Language Arts, and of English in areas like Science, Mathematics and Language Arts, that is, in those areas that will demand thinking in English in the upper grades, high school, and college. This plan is less ambitious perhaps because it is based on the realization that concepts and a language become a unit difficult to disentangle or to put it in the words of Lev Vygotsky:

> The absence of a primary bond between thought and word does not mean at all that this connection can come into existence only in an *external* way (RDW)....The meaning of a word represents such a close unity of thinking and speech that it is not possible to say whether it is a phenomenon of speech or a phenomenon of thinking.... It is a phenomenon of verbal thought or of meaningful speech; it is a unity of word and thought....the relation of thought to word is first of all not a thing, but a process....and the relation between thought and word changes....thought is not merely expressed in words; it comes into existence through them. Every thought tends to connect something with something else, to establish a relationship between things. Every thought moves, grows, and develops, fulfills a function, solves a problem.

Two major experiments support Vygotsky's clinical findings: The Rizal experiment in the Philippines (1960-64) strongly implies that "The degree of mastery of a language (be it Philipino or English) that a pupil achieves depends much more on extensive *use* of the language than on direct language instruction....With regard to the second language...'Proficiency in English *is* directly related to the number of years in which it is used as the medium of instruction.'" (p. vi PCLS #5) The second is the work of Professor Wallace Lambert in Canada who has tested a group of students through the first three grades after an initial test in kindergarten. This is a group of English-speaking children who have taken their entire curriculum in French. And they tested as well as in some areas and better in other areas than the students who have taken their entire curriculum in their native language!

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ON THE ART OF CHOOSING LITERATURE FOR LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Bradford Arthur

Many students of English as a second language who are reading literature as part of their language training face the same annoying problem: they are asked to read Dickens and Shakespeare when their control of the English language is far closer to Dr. Seuss.[1] This problem exists even when teachers are free to choose literary texts for their class. In choosing such texts, the language teacher's first impulse is to stick close to the established lists of literary classics. But unless students are nearing native proficience in English, they are bound to find the accepted masterpieces of British and American literature inordinately difficult. Twain and Hemmingway may be somewhat easier than Shakespeare and Dickins, but even The Old Man and the Sea often leaves students with a well-worn dictionary, pages and pages of interlinear translation, and hours of fatigue and frustration.

Teachers, saddened by this response from their students, must search for an alternative. Some may turn to a simplified text of these same literary classics. The number of literary classics simplified and edited for language learners is growing. Unfortunately, such simplified texts frequently fail to preserve the spirit of the originals; they are like a good joke badly told. For this reason, other teachers may decide to throw away the lists of literary classics and to rummage through library shelves in search of entertaining stories that, while they may fall short of greatness, are within the reach of foreign learners of English. But regardless of whether he is choosing among simplified texts or searching more widely among original works of literature, the language teacher must master the art of judging the appropriateness of a given literary text for his class of language learners.

In selecting literary texts, as in any other area of curriculum planning, the teacher's first commandment must be: know your students--their culture, their attitudes, their interests, their temperaments, the range and limits of their understanding. But the language teacher, to choose wisely among available literary texts, must also understand the functions literature can serve in his classroom and the difficulties inherent in literature that may reduce its effectiveness in serving these functions. What follows is a description of two such functions and of three such difficulties.

Most second language teachers would agree that literature should be used as supplementary practice material. The initial presentation of new linguistic concepts is best accomplished through the controlled sequencing and pacing found only in texts designed specifically to teach language. No literary texts, with the possible exception of certain stories for beginning readers, are written with a total and rigorous control of vocabulary or sentence structure. Thus the value of literature in the English language class is similar to that of other practice and drill material used by the teacher and in the language laboratory. But the sort of practice that students receive from reading or hearing literature differs from the typical classroom or language laboratory practice in at least three important respects. First, classroom practice almost always involves the production of English by the student, but in reading or hearing literature, the student is receiving language without the expectation that he will immediately be asked to produce what he has heard or to respond verbally. Second, classroom practice is organized around the total mastery of a specific linguistic goal such as the pronunciation of interdental fricatives or the substitution of pronouns for nouns. But in reading or hearing literature, the student must deal simultaneously with all aspects of language without necessarily controlling any one of them completely. Finally, in the classroom a major part of the student's attention is focused on the mechanics of language. In reading literature, the student's conscious attention is entirely on the story rather than on the language through which the story is being told. Literature thus enables the language learner to practice a range of language skills frequently slighted in other drill material.

In addition, literature can help language learners to adjust to the culture associated with the new language they are learning. Simply knowing *about* the new culture is not enough if the student is to participate on anything below the most superficial level. For a deeper participation the student must know how it feels to hold a new set of attitudes--to look at the world focused through the lens of these new attitudes. Literature, whether dramatic or narrative, provides a stage upon which the reader passively rehearses the cultural attitudes that the author is expressing through his characters. Through their feelings of identification or empathy with a character in a story or play, students participate vicariously in that character's culture.[2]

If literature is used for practice material as described above, it must be easy enough so that students can read it without losing the jist of the story. Unfamiliar words, sentence structures or cultural concepts must not cause the reader to balk or slow down. Reading literature is supposed to be a rehearsal of language skills, not a formal presentation of new material. Consequently, in selecting literature for their students, second language teachers must be aware of the sorts of difficulties their students may encounter. In the following paragraphs, three such difficulties are described.

Lexical Difficulty

Simplifiers of literary texts seem frequently to assume that the lexical difficulty of a text can be judged by counting the number of different words in that text. The larger the number of different words, the greater the lexical difficulty. Winifred W. Jones claims that his simplification of Stephan Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* is at the 3000 word level, whereas Robert J. Dixson rates his simplification of the same story at only 2600 words. But with the exception of texts especially prepared for language learners, books do not indicate the number of different words they contain. The language teacher in search of a text can give at best a rough, subjective estimate of such a number.

Word counting is certainly not the most sophisticated method of judging lexical difficulty. Some words are harder than others in that they are less common or less familiar to readers. These are the words most likely to trip up language learners. The word *eucalyptus* is probably familiar to fewer readers in the United States as a whole than the word *maple*. And both of these words are less familiar than the word *tree*. Generalizations of this sort are difficult, however, because familiarity depends on the experiences a reader has had. So, for example, the Southwest is full of eucalyptus trees but is virtually without maples. Such relativity of familiarity raises far more problems for the textbook writer or publisher than it does for the individual teacher in search of a text. The teacher does not have to worry about what words would be most likely to be most familiar to most people.

Instead he asks, what words do the students in my class know?

Grammatical Difficulty

Rudolf Flesch and others trying to devise tests for grammatical difficulty assumed that in general the more words in a sentence the more complicated that sentence would be. No doubt this is often the case, but sentence length is not always an accurate gauge of grammatical complexity. Ten short sentences can be combined into one very long sentence simply by inserting *and* between each sentence. However, the resulting long sentence is probably *no* more difficult to understand than the group of small ones. The length of sentences can be increased in a number of grammatically different ways. Some of these ways will result in grammatical constructions more complicated and more difficult to understand than others.

Some linguists supposed that the complexity or perceptual difficulty of a sentence was directly related to the number of rules used in generating that sentence. According to this hypothesis, active sentences should be easier to understand than passive ones since the latter require the application of a passive transformational rule. Similarly, questions should be harder to understand than statements since a transformational rule is needed to make appropriate changes in wording. A passive question, *Was the dragon killed by St. George?*, should be at least two degrees more difficult to understand than the corresponding active statement: *St. George killed the dragon.* This is an interesting hypothesis but at the moment, given the current formulation of grammatical rules, it is open to serious question. Paul Kiparsky has summed up the situation:

> It is true that there was an initial spate of successes in which a clear relationship seemed to emerge between the grammatical complexity of a sentence as measured by the number of rules of the grammar that contribute to its formation, and its perceptual complexity, as measured by various experimentally obtained performance parameters. But in recent experiments with more complex linguistic material this relationship has all but disappeared.[3]

Another, perhaps more promising, proposal for an association between grammatical complexity and intelligibility suggests that the "acceptability" or intelligibility of a sentence decreases as the number of subordinated or embedded clauses within the total complex sentence increases.[4] Such embedded clauses seem especially likely to increase the complexity of the total sentence when the subordinate clause interrupts the main clause. So, for example, in the sentence: *All of the children whose pictures had been taken filed back to their classrooms*, the main clause, *all of the children filed back to their classrooms*, is interrupted by the subordinate relative clause, *whose pictures had been taken*. To understand that sentence, the reader must keep the first half of the main clause in mind while he reads and interprets the subordinate clause. Only then can he complete his reading of the main clause and interpret the meaning of the sentence as a whole. One principle of sentence complexity might be that the longer a reader or listener has to keep track of part of a main clause while receiving one or more subordinate clauses, the more difficulty that reader is likely to have in understanding the sentence.

But it is not simply the number of words interrupting two halves of a clause that makes that clause more or less difficult to understand. The interruption itself may be more or less complex. One relative clause may be interrupted by still another relative clause. The sentence, *The children's* *pictures had been taken*, underlying the relative clause, *whose pictures had been taken*, in the original example, might itself contain a relative clause: *The children's pictures which the principal requested had been taken.* But if this more complicated construction is reinserted into the original sentence, the resulting sentence is a monstrosity: *All of the children whose pictures which the principal requested had been taken filed back to their classrooms.* A student trying to understand a sentence in which a main clause is interrupted by a subordinate clause which is in turn interrupted by another subordinate clause is like a juggler trying to keep several balls in the air at once. Both tasks are difficult, and the greater the number of interrupted clauses or balls to be caught, the greater the difficulty.

Clause embedding is certainly not the only source of grammatical complexity. Stylistic variations from the normal word order, the kind that frequently occur in poetry, may also add to the complexity of a sentence. A teacher considering the appropriateness of a text for his students must take into account not simply the length of the sentences but their grammatical complexity as well.

Cultural Difficulty

Teachers of English as a second language generally recognize the possibility of cultural difficulties in the stories that their students read. They may not, however, recognize the cause of these difficulties. A teacher may ask: How can my students, brought up in Hawaii, understand a story about a snowstorm? Or, how can an American Indian student on a desert reservation understand stories about ships at sea? To these questions one might answer, they will understand in the same way that a boy growing up in Chicago understands stories about pirates and Spanish galleons filled with treasure. Unfamiliar subject matter does not *necessarily* mean that a story will be difficult to understand.

What is important is not so much whether the subject matter is familiar as whether the author assumes that the subject matter will be familiar to his audience. Herman Melville's novel *Moby Dick* is in part a story about the American whaling industry in the Nineteenth Century. In order to understand what is going on in that novel, a reader must understand a good deal about whales, whaling, and whalers. But Melville, in writing *Moby Dick*, assumed that his audience knew little or nothing about whaling. So he incorporated a description of whales and the whaling industry in his novel.

The difficulty arises not so much from a difficult or unfamiliar subject as from an unfamiliar subject that the author has assumed will be familiar. Consider another example: in *Tom Sawyer*, Mark Twain has Tom daydream about becoming a pirate:

> He would be a pirate! That was it! *Now* his future lay plain before him, and glowing with unimaginable splendor. How his name would fill the world, and make people shudder! How gloriously he would go plowing the dancing seas, in his long, low, black-hulled racer, the *Spirit of the Storm*, with his grisly flag flying at the fore! And at the zenith of his of his fame, how he would suddenly appear at the old village and stalk into church, brown and weatherbeaten, in his black velvet doublet and trunks, his great jack-boots, his crimson sash, his belt bristling with horse-pistols, his crime-rusted cutlass at his side, his slouch hat with waving plumes, his black flag unfurled, with the skull and cross-bones on it, and hear with swelling ecstasy the whisperings, "It's Tom Sawyer the Pirate!--the Black Avenger of the Spanish Main!"

This passage is amusing because Tom's image of himself as a pirate is taken straight out of all of the pirate stories that Tom must have read. Tom has pictured himself as the perfect stereotype of the pirate, complete with all of the trappings: jack-boots, sash, horse-pistols, cutlass, plume in the hat. His ship, rather his "black-hulled racer," has the story-book name, "Spirit of the Storm," and Tom himself is none other than "the Black Avenger of the Spanish Main." This is the same stereotyped, Nineteenth Century fictional pirate that Gilbert and Sullivan parodied in the Pirates of Penzance. But Mark Twain's description works as parody only if his reader recognizes the stereotype that is being mocked. Any reader not familiar with this genre of pirate stories would find the passage only a rather pointless conglomeration of unfamiliar terms.

Perhaps even more important than the assumptions that an author makes about his audience's understanding of the subject matter are the assumptions that he makes about that same audience's ability to grasp the cultural implications of actions. Even an action as seemingly uncomplicated as a husband's helping his wife with the dinner dishes may be viewed very differently in different cultures. In the mid-twentieth century United States, this act would be a sign that the husband is a good family member joining in with the household chores and helping his wife out. But one of my foreign students was shocked when he saw his dinner host begin to stack and then to wash the dinner dishes. In that student's culture, dish washing is woman's work and improper for a man. This student would be badly confused by a novel in which the character of the hero is developed by describing him scrubbing away at the family dishes.

The choice of literary texts for an English language class should not be left entirely to text book writers and curriculum developers. The individual teacher, because of his knowledge of his own students, is in many cases the best judge of what stories will "work" for him. Judging the appropriateness of texts for a class is part of the art of teaching. Armed with an understanding of his own students and of the sorts of difficulties his students may encounter in reading literature, the language teacher can begin to compile for himself a set of stories, plays, poems, and songs that his students will enjoy, and which will at the same time help them with their task of learning the English language.

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[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the TESOL Convention meeting in Chicago during the Spring of 1969.

[2] For a further discussion of this view of the reader's participation in literature, see my article, "Reading Literature and Learning a Second Language", Language Learning, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3 & 4 (Dec. 1968), pp. 199-210; and William F. Marquardt, "Empathy Through Literature Between Mainstream Culture Members and Disadvantaged Learners from Minority Cultures," The Florida FL Reporter, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring Summer 1969), pp. 133-141, 157.

[3] Paul Kiparsky, "Linguistic Universals and Linguistic Change," in Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms, eds., Universals in Linguistic Theory. Holt, Rinehart Winston, Inc. (New York, 1968), p. 174.

[4] This relationship between intelligibility and the extent and type of clause embedding is discussed by Noam Chomsky in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. M.I.T. Press (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 12-13.

SECOND LANGUAGE LITERATURE: Towards A Critical Methodology

John Povey

It is now well known that there is a large number of second language literatures. From India and Pakistan, from Kenya and Ghana, from the Philipines and Korea, there are many writers who have chosen to express their creativity, not in the language that they learned first from their mothers, but in a second language, usually the language of their education. This is most commonly English but there are also similar literatures in French and Spanish or Portuguese.

There are many reasons for the writers to make this decision. The complicated elements of the sociolinguistic motivation that decides national and individual language choice is in itself too broad a subject for a single essay of this kind, but perhaps an initial and necessarily superficial review of the most obvious facts would be a helpful beginning to establish the ground for my argument. Choice of the second language is political, on behalf of the governments, and both practical and aesthetic on the part of the writers themselves.

The motives for the national decision are better recognized than the individual ones. Certain newly independent governments, afflicted by complex and multiple linguistic minorities within their boundaries, have chosen the ex-colonial language as their national tongue to act as a cohesive force within the linguistic and tribal diversity of the country. They thus recognize that granted the disparity of tongues commonly spoken, a dangerous divisiveness would be created if one or the other of the possible local language choices should be made at the expense of the others. Such a decision would undoubtably be perceived as either victory or defeat for one or the other of the divided groups. It would therefore be the source of considerable resentment and complaint in a period when local division rather than national cohesion is the most potent aspect challenging federal control in the newly independent countries.

This observation posits the significant assertion that the borrowed and foreign language is used for national as much as for international purposes. This usage must therefore be distinguished in its linguistic purpose from the employment of the so-called diplomatic or international tongues. At conferences or in business, a Dutchman or a Pole might use English or French as a vehicle of communication although he has a viable national language in his own country. In the second language situation there is an internal usage and this different situation gives the borrowed English far more sense of being a "local" language.

This is one reason why the foreign language is deemed by the local writer as appropriate to his creativity. It is less foreign than its borrowed overseas status might suggest. The second language also offers important practical advantages for the writer. First, and crucially, it has become the language of his nationality. Thus an expression of national as opposed to tribal and group feeling requires the use of this imported tongue. To the extent that literature is intended to be a reflection of cultural *nationality* rather than cultural *regionalism*, it has to be written in the author's second language. Even if the writer does feel a close and emotional association with his own language group, if he is to address any preponderance of his countrymen, he must use the language which they have in common and understand.

Perhaps the decision is more difficult for those writers who speak a tongue employed by large numbers of native speakers because a language such as Zulu or Yoruba would in fact offer an audience large enough to sustain general publication, whereas those born into a much smaller linguistic group recognize more strongly the need for the lingua franca of nationhood--though the assumptions they both make are identical. The need for a national audience makes one practical reason for the writer's decision to use his second language.

Another reason is the problems of publication that run alongside this. At the most practical level publication resources are most limited in many less-industrialized countries and such as there are, are often controlled by the government for its own printing purposes. Literature gets little support and it is regularly necessary that it be produced in London, which is the major center of the publishing and printing industry available for those writers in the ex-British colonies.

The opportunities provided for by publication in such an international center as London also gives practical support to the other immense linguistic advantage the choice of English language provides a writer: the access it provides him not only to national but also to a new international audience. Writers using English can directly address the readers of the entire English-speaking world. This must be a tempting opportunity which reinforces the original advantage of a truly national audience within the boundaries of their own country. In the case of the international African writer, this has a particular appeal since, for them, the international audience is not only that to be found in Europe and America but also all the other readers in English-speaking Africa with which they are feeling an increasing Pan-African identity and brotherhood. A Ngugi of Kenya speaks not only for the Kenyans but also for the South Africans and Ghanaians who to some extent share his interpretation of the total experiences of Africa which are partly common to the whole continent.

These are in a sense the practical reasons for which a writer might choose to employ his second language, English. I mean, these motives have a rational, even quantitatively measurable basis. But creativity does not play slave upon such rationality and may well on occasion fight against it. A writer might be stirred by the sense of the worth of his mother tongue or the emotional appeal of his linguistic and cultural group to write in a language which is not logically advantageous in any practical sense. An Irish writer who chooses Gaelic or even perhaps a South African who employs Afrikaans is indicating that his emotional sense of group allegiance has decided the language choice even when it is at the expense of publishing convenience, extensive popularity and world sales. If there were only the convenience and practical elements at stake, there would be infinitely less significant motivation for creative writing in English and equally, the quality and value of the results would be vastly inferior. The words of the brilliant young Nigerian poet John Pepper Clark were nonetheless vitally significant for being so apparently casual and unimpassioned. "I write in English because this is the language in which I can write my poetry best."

It is extremely important to see the implications of this statement that could undoubtably be echoed by his countrymen and others who use the English language in their writing in many countries across the world. Without such an observation all this literature could be seen as simply a transitory phenomenon to be changed with shifting political circumstances. An argument that one might then anticipate would run something like this. "I use English because that is the language I must use to get published in this world temporarily dominated by European technology or capitalism. Happily one day soon when we have achieved true independence that will also include linguistic independence, I shall be able to use my first language which must be the true writer's medium for all natural creativity."

In such a case the new second language literatures would be a transient varient created by political change and as such,unworthy of complex and novel critical and linguistic analyses. But for the reasons outlined so crudely above, this attitude does not appear to be a part of the present circumstances. Second language literatures in English meet a very vital urge of the creative wirter no matter his actual nationality or his primary linguistic allegiance. This means that these literatures will continue and develop in the way that other literatures in different countries have done. We must now assume that there will be a variety of national literatures which will be remarkable in that they do employ the second language of the writer's education and thus have a language, if not culture and literary antecedents in common. The identity of language will not for long conceal the variety of national groupings upon which this writing draws.

Once one has accepted this discovery as an established fact--that a series of new literatures are being created in the newly independent countries of the world, one must also attempt to meet the very obvious questions of critical analysis which are raised by this completely new phenomenon in literature. I must stress the newness of this because there are no antecedents from which convenient analogies can be made. Because of its uniqueness one is forced to recognize that there are basic differences propounded by such literature to the reader and critic who may have had training in the techniques of interpreting and evaluating English literature which to date has meant British, American and Irish writing. This new second language English literature not only expands the range of our literary knowledge but it may demand the creation of new appropriate tools to cope with its special characteristics and variety. It is a new thing and must be approached as such. The obvious comparisons with literatures of the past that include most of the non-British literature that we might read prove only partially appropriate. They break down under the special elements that are implicit in this new writing. Obviously British readers have for many years been familiar with foreign literature and new literatures which employ English, but it can be established that the second language literatures do not fit into either of the patterns of expectation which previous reading outside of the national boundaries of England have provided as analogies. The situation of the new literatures written in English--an English which is the second rather than the mother tongue of the writer--has little in common with other new English language literatures written by mother-tongue [i.e., first language] speakers of English such as Australian or Canadian literature. Nor can the problems be readily compared with literatures that reflect acknowledgedly foreign cultures; written in a foreign language and available to us only through translation.

Newer first language literatures are available to us directly and are connected culturally with the British origin of their writers. For all the curiosities of the local landscape described, those mysterious billabongs and coolibah trees of Australia, a generality of what must roughly be called the British experience is at the heart of the cultural attitudes taken by the first language writers of new literatures from the white settler dominions of late 18th century British imperialism. It has been pointed out how early poets in the Southern hemisphere invariably remark, pretendedly in passing, upon the hot December days. This is the curiosity of climactic situation only remarkable to those for whom it is an unexpected oddity and that is why it is noticed, and subsequently recorded. Since the British reader shares the same interrupted expectations as the settler, he finds here an identity with the writer who is foreign to the reader only to the extent that his geography--his landscape--is foreign. This would be by extension similiar to the difficulties found when a Londoner reads of the unimaginable wastes of Wessex or the damp hills of the Lake Country although it is in extreme form. All literature after all extends rather than confirms the individual experience--a fact that makes the students' cry of "I just didn't identify with Hamlet" such an irrelevant statement regardless of its possible truth. Our impression of the world is expanded by the new experience which we only perceive through the consciousness of the writer. This can be as wide a change as geography--when we are involved in the Australian desert, in history as when we recapitulate in an imaginative sense the Dickensian past, or emotionally and practically as when we read of worlds of say, lesbian experience which is foreign to our own directly and personally perceived knowledge of the world. The key association in all this writing is that we share, in the broadest possible sense, the basic cultural assumptions of the writer. We thus react, to some extent, as he does to a new experience, because the measure of its differentiation, of its expectedness, is the measure of the fact that we did in essence share a large area of this experience at firsthand with him. Our assumptions are fashioned like his own, by the events that we have largely and simply had in common.

This may be a temporary stage. The fact that the Australian or Canadian experience for example is a British one in its fundamental assumptions is undoubtably based upon the past which emphasizes the origin of the connection by race rather than subsequent contemporary national experience. However, to date it is not proved an entirely unjust assertion and it can only be recently that one might argue that the Australian experience is no longer an adaptation of British attitudes transposed into a fresh topography. It is this language usage and sense of original cultural identity which permits an English critic to display a familiarity towards new first language national literatures which he would not pretend reading writing from non-Anglo areas such as Japan. It might be as well to observe that the differences may be much greater than many have often chosen to admit. Oscar Wilde's caustic and witty remark that England and America are 'two countries divided by a single language' may have implications for literature which he did not intend. Certainly the division no matter how increasing its political force, does not in fact stretch across critical methodology. No one would allow that the critical techniques taught at UCLA were appropriate only to American or to British writing. The tools work more broadly because of the assumption of identity partly in language and partly in association with a mutual cultural and literary heritage of great historical complexity.

It is probable that differentiation between these new first language literatures will grow, not diminish, as nationalism enforces progressively greater national consciousness and cultural diversity. This has already happened very obviously in America where American literature has a continuing tradition with directions far removed from the lines taken by contemporary British writing. Yet, as has been remarked above, in such cases no one suggests the tools of English literary critics are inappropriate to the interpretation of what is after all really a foreign culture. British critics may occasionally expose ignorance of American custom and locality just as American critics may demonstrate their unfamiliarity with the English scene.

But the comments of such critics upon the generality of human experience described, are usually allowed to have pertinence and worth.

The other likely point of comparison with these new second language literatures is with foreign work in translation, but no attempt to find an identity based upon the distinction of geography and culture between such foreign works and the new English language medium literatures that the British reader can hold up to investigation. First, in the case of translated work, virtually all stylistic analysis is irrelevant, for the diction reflects the effort of the translator not the writer. Occasionally, as we know, the translator's effort is so artistically skillful, that the translation becomes an entirely different work and may be enjoyed as such. The recently argued case for the FitzGerald version of the Rubiyat or the fine translation of Proust by Scott-Moncrieff would be cases in point. In many cases, however, critics do insist that they can approach such works with their British skills at least on other topics than diction. Thus French or Russian novels such as Madame Bovary or War and Peace become a significant part of the British literary experience to a reader. The themes may be foreign yet they are intelligible in their generality.

This supposed understanding derives from a sometimes overlooked assumption that there is something that might crudely be called the European outlook. As Europeans, we have shared the same conflicts, taken part in the same international interventions, and more generally share some rough compound of the Judaic/Hellenic systems that make our European and specifically Christian cultural origins. This means that although there will be areas of local ignorance we share the kind of background from which the affecting symbol develops. None of us can see the crucifix shape or a man with arms held outwards in such a position without becoming immediately aware of the Christian context of such an incident, whether we believe in the Christian principle or not. The writer knows this and draws upon it. Equally, all the symbolism of seasons of the Spring of youth, of Fall's middle-aged languors which seem so automatic to our way of thinking, in fact derive from climatic experiences largely outside the tropics and therefore specific and parochial.

Since a major proportion of our reading in translation is in fact likely to be derived from Europe, readings from European sources do not present vast problems, for if we insisted on the obvious distinction between French and German or between Russian and Italian we would accept their gross similarities if the distinction were to be made between European and African or European and Asian. Where the translation of a literature is from a culture more remote than Europe things are not nearly so easy. Yet here we do have the translator as interpretor, translating not only the actual words but the approximate semantic overtones of those words. Hence the plethora of footnotes. A friend recently had to translate what he said was literally "She walked like an elephant", a simile from an Indian poem. As expressed that can have only one association for the European, that the unfortunate girl is overweight and heavy-footed. Apparently exterior knowledge made it clear to the translator that the Indians found the slow smooth glide of the elephant enviable. This was praise for the lady's hip-swinging grace!--explained in a footnote.

There are no limits to the problems involved when significant cultural boundaries are crossed, and clearly this must apply particularly to Africa which is as remote a culture as we can imagine--a fact no doubt partly the result of missionary information. If we were to be considering African literature in the vernacular the situation would be exactly analogous to the attempt to read a Japanese novel--perhaps the African situation would be even more remote, since crude assumptions of unifying elements within industrialization may have some relevence here. For Japan and China, the greater recognition of some cultural equality (very different admittedly but not inherently inferior) may influence our reaction.

A vastly remote foreign culture approached through literary translation is a major problem for the literary critic.

This precise situation does occur in such works as have been published in Professor Wilfred Whiteley's African Literature Series, a title that should evoke a whole range of qualifications. In these works of distinguished scholarship, prominent linguists record the oral epic tales and poetry of an African pepole and then deliberately offer literal translations interleaved with the transcribed original, printed in the accepted orthography. The impressive battery of notes, even the non-linguistic ones, is a reminder of the amount of background needed to be supplied for comprehension. Occasionally the stories they expound are fascinating. Sometimes, there are sudden metaphors of unexpected efficacy. Yet one thing is clear, whatever interest these works may have for us, they are not very relevent to any conventional interpretation of literature. There is the admitted recognition not only of large areas of ignorance, but the admission that the kind of things that one can say about a work of literature from a more familiar environment has little relevence, nor may the accepted tools of conventional literature be applied in any useful way.

What then is the situation with a second language literature which very obviously stands between the extremes of new first language and translated literatures? Such writing contains dual elements. They are joined to British literature by language but they are separated by culture. Thus they appear to combine the linguistic assumptions we may make about the literature of Canada and the cultural assumptions that we might make of the literature written in Bengali and translated. One question has become very necessary, granted the extraordinary proliferations of these literatures across the world. I wish to ask the question as to what place such literature in English can have in English literary studies. I fear that in wording it in this way I may be accused of greatly narrowing the field and reducing significant aesthetic issues into what may appear as purely an administrative pedagogic problem. Yet such questions do have their theoretical basis and are a probe into some understanding of the very special nature of this writing. The question to be asked is the extent to which these literatures can be approached through the conventional tools of English literary criticism. To what extent can English critics make valid assertions about this literature? To what extent will any coment be at best partial, at worst simply wrong?

The limits of this argument could be asserted through propounding two extremes. The first would be that **which says** African literature in English, requires the same kind of anthropological explanation as any other aspect of African culture; that judgments advanced without this awareness will be invariably fallacious. The other side would argue that the deliberate choice of English language and genre forms of English literature, mean that the writer is accepting his position as one part of English literature. The fact that the writers are known to be sophisticated, educated men, university-trained and read in the history of English literature would tend to confirm their view that if the writers are aware of this "Great Tradition" they must be responsive to it. In so being, they make themselves ameanable to criticism which takes account of the English literary history of which they are part. Either case can be supported. The anthropologist can make the accusations of remarkable ignorance, the critic can point to the relevence of literary borrowings in his perception of the new poetry. The issue is clearly bedeviled by the question of language. For the first time a literature belonging to a foreign culture is *directly* intelligible to readers of a totally different one because they have *a language* in common. One might fancifully imagine a dialogue of this kind:

What do you think of that Yoruba mask?
I don't know enough about Yoruba masks to say.
What do you think of that play by Duro Ladipo?
I am not able to understand the Yoruba language.
What do you think of this play *Brother Jero* written by a Yoruba in English?
Oh, my opinion is that it is...........

In other words, the assumption of language choice is made the basis for belief in comprehensibility regardless of the exotic nature of the geographic origin. This may be fallacious logic. The incident in Achebe's last novel *Man of the People* is introduced rather extraneously simply to make this essential point clear. The introspection introduced by an untypical author's sponsored aside "And if I may digress a little" comes after the misconception of an Englishman who has seen an old woman shaking her fist at a sculpture. He assumes that she is in an "uncontrollable rage" and rejecting the modern art. Odili, the hero, is able to point out that the shaking fist is "a sign of honor and respect in our society". Achebe goes on to remark, "Another critic committed a crime in my view because he transferred to an alien culture the same meanings and interpretation that his own people attach to certain gestures and facial expression." We have been warned authoritatively! But where does this leave the critic? After all, the first two Achebe novels take their titles from British poetry by borrowing from Yeats and T.S. Eliot in their introductory quotations. It may be argued that when an African borrows a form he is specifically tied to the implications of its history. J.P. Clark writes a sonnet. What effect does this borrowing have upon his "African" poetry? The novel, as that same poet remarked, has no antecedent in African literary culture. The fact that these things are new and borrowed as an import is very significant.

There are other legitimate arguments for the urge to bring African literature into the fold of British literature. The publication in London is very significant. African writers are touchy on this point yet the extensive and desirable sales of paper-backed editions in Africa are, after all, reflections of a previous success. They are specifically reprints and reprints of works that caught the attention of the publisher's English readers in the first place and then attracted sufficient number of English readers at prices close to the per capita weekly income of some African countries. Against this Mr. Achebe's assertion of his huge and well-earned African sales to the schools must be held in perspective. This necessary initial outward aim of the African novelist makes a very specific reason for the assumption that a British reader is one of the primary aims of the African writer to date. The extensive anthropology, whether concealed by literary skill or thrust in as crudely-added information supports this. After all, so much consists of the deliberate addition of material which is not available to the outside reader but which could have been taken for granted within the cultural context of the writer if his readership were from identical cultural groups as his own.

There is the great temptation to introduce this writing into the canons of English literary criticism; to assert of the African Literature in English, the English rather than the African elements, to make the analogy with the work of, say, Doris Lessing of Rhodesia or Nadine Gordimer of South Africa. It is tempting and partially reasonable, yet there are clear dangers in such an attitude--dangers which can be allowed for but which may too readily be unacknowledged or ignored. Although there are elements where common critical assumptions will readily operate, there are elements which raise the limitations and questions of such determinations. To the extent that the writer is continuing to assume that a major part of his audience is an international one, and this can certainly be demonstrated by the kind of comments he makes in explanation of his own culture, his work may be conveniently and intelligently approached by the British and American reader. This is, after all, only one feature of a much wider phenomenon--the gradual dominance of English which allows its development into a universal world language. Yet, there are elements that do not fit this convenient pattern and it is to these that the international reader must alert himself. This writing has a specious air of familiarity that makes us perhaps think that in spite of its foreign setting it is totally and immediately available to us--to assume, in other words, that a novel by Chinua Achebe is not so dissimiliar to a novel by Joyce Cary or Grahame Greene which equally take their setting and events from the context of West Africa. But the direction of the vision, the source of the writer's attitude, his implicit origin which is demonstrated throughout his work both in diction and in motivation of his characters may well prove very different indeed.

Perhaps at the moment it is too early to do other than advance initial hypotheses about how we must go about interpreting such new writing. As with all new phenomenon, it behoovesus to come to it with some humility and an open mind for dogmatism and prejudgment will defeat the process by which one begins to seek an honest and accurate interpretation of an exciting, virile and expanding evidence of a new creativity that will advance the already impressive range of the English language as its use embraces many more aspects of human activity than were dreamed of 50 years ago.

THE MOVE FROM CONTROLLED WRITING TO FREE COMPOSITION

OR

"Write 300 Words on 'Being a Foreign Student at UCLA'"

Maryruth Bracy

Perhaps the reason there has never been an article in Workpapers on composition is that prospective writers are afraid the principles they discuss will be used to evaluate their articles. I am one of those writers and I hope that the message will come across even though the medium may be less than perfect.

Much has been written about the teaching of composition for foreign students; however, the stress seems always to be on the level of the beginning learner of English or in the area of controlled writing. There seems to be a well-defined, if not universally accepted, set of sequences for moving from extreme control to free composition (the opposite end of the continuum). Free composition is the euphoric state where the student has mastered enough language skills and has acquired a sufficient sense of organization to be able to handle the writing of a topic when given only a specific amount of time and a definite length. The improvement from that point on revolves around increasing the number of words the student can write while decreasing the number of errors per page. In evaluation of a student for placement in a program for instruction in second language learning, the free composition is used as one measurement of his level of language acquisition: If a student can write 200 words and make fewer than five errors, he is on a level to compete with intermediate foreign students. After one quarter in 33C (UCLA's most advanced required class of English for foreign students,which stresses composition), he should be able to write 350 words and still make less than five errors. In 106J, Advanced Composition for Foreign Students, he will write themes from one to three pages and hopefully make less than three errors on a page (if he wants an A). At this point he is ready to compete with native speakers in a regular class demanding composition skills.

While the value of teaching controlled writing as a beginning to the acquisition of writing skills is undisputed, and while the methods are well-defined and materials plentiful, there is a dearth in materials, rationale and methodology for the teacher interested only in the area of free composition. Once a student has arrived at this plateau (and one is never sure what his writing looks like at that precise moment), he is simply turned loose with sets of arbitrary topics and lengths and then told to rewrite and rewrite. After having had a highly controlled and thorough diet of manipulating sentences, followed by a slow and steady progression of writing paragraphs, he finds himself armed only with a dictionary, paper, and pencils to face topic after topic. Then, in retrospect he deals with various aspects of grammar, vocabulary, usage, style, and documentation. It is much like the student who is raised in a convent and then faces membership in Berkeley's Free Speech Movement.

Even the texts for the teaching of advanced composition to foreign students are scarce. For the last two years at UCLA we have been using books written specifically for native-speakers,to teach our composition courses. These require a great deal of explanation of vocabulary and often the exercises are too American in flavor to be expedient in classroom use. While the principles in them are useful and readily applicable to foreign students, they are best utilized only as reference books for the teachers unless daily revisions are made.

An even more serious lack, from the standpoint of someone wanting to teach a practical yet appealing course in composition, is the content of the textbooks. Most either have a literature-analysis format or teach the theoretical aspects of improved writing with the emphasis on exposition. While there is often mention of the other styles--narration, description, and argumentation--the material for development within the course is straight exposition. Few teachers, and fewer engineering and math-oriented students, feel like delving into the other styles; hence, the student acquires skills of analysis and explanation, but comments at the end that he hates composition and is sure glad that his requirement is now filled.

Another problem is the composition needs of the various students enrolled in a college-level composition course: graduates want practice in writing term papers with the emphasis on research and documentation techniques; undergraduates want to get the quarter over with as soon as possible, and in the meantime, they want to discuss the relevance of the topics and have their grammatical errors corrected. (All of them, however, have already reached the level of native-speaker proficiency in asking that they get an A, since they are all either on a scholarship or probation.)

The purpose of this paper is to offer some suggestions for those who have tried to tackle the area of free composition and have been as frustrated as I in the attempt. After attending the 1970 TESL Conference in San Francisco where the emphasis was successfully shifted from the oral-aural approach in language learning to the teaching of reading and bilingualism in elementary schools, I feel the urge to pick up the banner of composition teaching. I hope that educators in the field will soon follow the order of Eugene Nida's "Scientific Process of Language Learning: Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing," ensuring that composition will be next on the docket for dissection and material preparation.

In a seminar in the Certificate program for teachers of English as a Second Language at UCLA, there was a panel discussion on writing and composition. After members of the panel presented the objectives, exercises, content of material and foci for writing manipulation on both the sentence and paragraph level, they attempted to venture beyond the paragraph into the development of critical skills in the writing of free composition. They stated that the term composition had been used in the past for everything from copying paragraphs to writing dissertations, and that now a distinction between writing and composition should be made; they saw writing as teaching anything controlled and composition as anything free. (I shall maintain this distinction throughout the paper, concentrating only on the teaching of composition as here defined.) Then, even the term free was disputed in that often the content was manipulated even though there were no requirements for specific sentence structures and vocabulary. The purpose of teaching free composition was explained as one of motivation and practice, with the hope (often more fervent than realistic) that the students would leave with a love of writing and an ability to compete adequately with native speakers in their writing skills. The suggestions made for revising current classes in intermediate English so as to teach free composition, were the following:

1) Change the source materials from literature-analyses, which were of little relevance to what was occupying the thoughts of the students outside the class, to activities such as panels, group discussions, individual speeches and lectures, based on both fact and fictional readings from magazines and

newspapers.

2) Use these activities as the basis for compositions rather than the previously used articles from literature texts.

3) Incorporate in the composition exercises based on the source materials, those skills necessary for the students in their regular academic classes: taking notes, summarizing, writing critiques, making comparisons, paraphrasing, writing term papers[1] book reports, bibliography and footnotes. (It should be confessed that the panel never did offer an answer for the inclusion of the writing styles of narration and description, except to suggest that students keep a journal for a limited period of time in which they would write everyday and try to vary their writing style.

The seminar served two useful purposes: first, it opened up the area of the teaching of writing and composition for examination and discussion; second, a bibliography was given by Joe Taylor, a panel member, of some books related to the teaching of both writing and composition.[2] (Robert B. Kaplan also has a bibliography available of materials for teachers of ESL in which there are numerous articles on the teaching of composition.)

While there are many problems inherent in the teaching of composition (as now separated from writing), I would like to present only one which I feel deserves immediate, if not continued, attention by master's candidates in TESL programs and by educators in the field: the unwanted and partially-opened Pandora's box of composition correction. Each teaching assistant in our department has his own modified or unique system for correcting papers, ranging from total avoidance to complete revision. A somewhat standardized set of symbols is often handed to students as a guide to the teachers' markings; these also have a range--from three or four in number to a small booklet. Once the teacher has finalized his method of correction, the problem still remains of whether the whole process will somehow improve the students' writing. Tests need to be made on various techniques for their effectiveness in eliminating or at least reducing the number of errors in compositions.

Some variations in correction tried in our department over the past two years (but with no measurement of effectiveness) are the following:

1) Correct all the errors of style and grammar for the student and point out the weaknesses in content. (To my knowledge no teacher has as yet re-written paragraphs; however, I question the constructive value of only using terms like vague and awkward.)

2) Using a set of symbols, point out the errors and correct only those which the student can not easily remedy himself: idioms, appropriate usage, vocabulary (not spelling).

3) Using symbols, point out all the errors, making no corrections.

4) Instead of categorizing errors by using symbols, simply underline, circle or check where errors occur.

5) Forget the errors and simply give a letter-grade with comments, reviewing aspects of grammar throughout the quarter.

Once the papers have been handed back to the students, there remains the question of what they can then do with the "corrected" compositions to affect change and improvement in their writing techniques and use of the language. The following have also been tried without a test of their effectiveness:

1) While correcting the first composition of each student, make a list of the errors to be checked against future papers. (The pragmatics of carrying out this technique soon result in a shift from the teacher to the student making the list.)

2) Have each student keep a notebook of all compositions to be turned

in at the end of the quarter for reviewing by the teacher.

3) Have the students rewrite the paper, making the corrections by following the symbols or copying your corrections. To insure the revision, don't record the grade until the rewritten copy is turned in.

4) Make a list of only the "general" errors--ones which could be applicable to the majority of the students and then go over these in class when the papers are handed back. (This technique replaces the systematic teaching of grammar in advanced courses with a weekly review of only the aspects of grammar and style found incorrectly in the papers.)

5) An addition to #4 is to provide an exercise on the prevalent mistakes in the composition for the individual student. Thus, if one student consistently makes errors in capitalization, you give him an exercise (attached to the composition itself) which affords him immediate practice.[3]

6) After handing back the compositions, make individual appointments with students (in class or out) to go over their papers with them.

7) Simply point out to the students when handing back the compositions that your corrections will be of no use if they don't do something with them, warning them that they "shouldn't" make the same error twice. The problem of "idle threats" may soon appear with the use of this technique.

Aside from the area of correction (which I feel at a loss to cope with any further), there are several suggestions which can be made to improve the overall teaching of composition.

The first concerns the sequencing of content in addition to language skills. At present, there exists a broad gap between the least-controlled writing and entirely free composition. As stated at the beginning of this paper, once sentence structure and vocabulary are no longer manipulated, only general topics are assigned with no restrictions or guidelines other than a length restriction. Since this free composition often is introduced relatively early in the student's formal exposure to English, he still makes a great number of errors. In contrast, when the content is controlled (I prefer directed) with the vocabulary and sentence structure still absolutely free, there are fewer errors. This has been the result in several of my courses when I compared the number of errors in an evaluation composition (200 words on any one of four topics) with a letter to "Roger", where there are instructions as to what general topics should be written about in each paragraph.[4] The problem is not to structure the content so that specific sentence structures will result; otherwise, the students are back to controlled writing. The suggestion is to explore ways of re-structuring topics so as to graduate the control, rather than immediately jumping from paragraph manipulation to broad areas which leave the student with the temptation to think it out in his native language and then translate it into English words and sentences. The result would be a range of "freeness" in composition similar to the already well-defined range of control in writing.

The second suggestion involves the use of supplementary texts in composition (see note 4), as opposed to straight literature. In the advanced composition course for foreign teachers of English as a second language, a debate ensued over literature-oriented and literature-free composition. The question was asked, "Why can't a teacher simply assign the analysis of a five-line poem and teach all there is to know about composition within that context?" The question was answered in several ways, but the significant outcome was the conclusion that there is more to composition than analysis of literature. Most writing done by students during their high school and college experience involves term papers, and most term papers involve analysis; hence, the skills derived from the use of literature are valuable. At the same time, the writing which students enjoy and which they are faced with outside of and after their formal education involves communication; i.e., letter-writing, notes, messages, telegrams, speeches, journals; hence, the need for supplementary texts which are not literature-oriented. Letter-writing was deemed crucial by most of the foreign students, and within this framework, aspects of style and language which had previously been inaccessible were brought out and successfully adopted in their writing. There was also a transference of these skills to their academic compositions which resulted in a more interesting and lively treatment of analytical topics.

The practice of teachers' arbitrarily choosing the topics and length of compositions is the cause of my third suggestion. Topics should be varied, show some creativity, and present realistic choides--not judt variations on one given theme. As often as possible, they should be relevant to what is going on in the world outside the classroom and should be on a level of sophistication and maturity level to or above that of the students. (There was much dissatisfaction expressed over the testing opics used this year: "When I was a Child," "A Person I Know," and "What I Plan to Do When I Finish School.") There is also the possibility of allowing the student to reject all of the suggested topics and choose one of his own. As one of my students put it, "I'm sorry, I can't write on *any* of these. My muse isn't on my shoulder today." Also, there should be some attempt to show the correlation between length and topic. Except for the need to set length for evaluation purposes, the governing factor is supposed to be appropriateness. In other words, you set a restriction of one to three or five to ten pages so the student will learn what topics can be successfully covered in what amount of space. Here, the teacher has two obligations: one, to make his choice of topics appropriate to his own length restriction, or where the topics are not provided to provide an opportunity to evaluate the appropriateness of his students' topics before they begin writing the paper. The very least a teacher can do is at some time point out the relationship between length and complexity of topics, so the student does not always feel the restriction is arbitrary.

My final suggestions relate specifically to our program of teaching composition at UCLA, but they may be more widely applicable. First, there is considerable potential in the 106K classes (advanced composition for native and foreign teachers) for evaluative work in composition and techniques. Unfortunately, there is still too much emphasis on research in, and material preparation for, only controlled writing. This year, some headway was made with the inclusion of annotated bibliographies on the teaching of composition as one of the possible choices for a term project. Also, revisions of a native-speaker composition textbook were begun. A continuation as well as an expansion of these types of activities in 106 classes would do much to bring the teaching of composition to the forefront for investigation and development. Second, in the 250K classes (contrastive analysis for students in the TESL Certificate program), there should be an inclusion of the possibility of doing a contrastive analysis on composition. To date, most papers only deal with pronunciation, grammar, literature or attitude studies. Much in the writing of compositions could be fruitfully contrasted--skills, topics, style, and organization of ideas, to mention only a few broad areas. Third, a consideration of composition for masters theses topics--especially along the lines of testing various techniques of correction for effectiveness in error reduction.

The last suggestion is for the compilation, editing and publication of an anthology of original compositions (with the inclusion of other forms, i.e., poetry, short stories, etc.) by foreign students in both the 33-series and the Certificate/MA programs. As an alternative, an attempt could be made to make *Westwinds*, the English Department's publication, international by insuring the presence of a foreign student representative on the staff. Perhaps such a student could even receive partial credit in a 106J/K class for his work. If the separate publication is decided upon, then I can see it as an appropriate project for a TESL Association, a 106J or K teacher, or a native-speaker and foreign studen in the TESL program.

NOTES

1. It should be pointed out that the teaching of term papers does not necessitate the writing of one for the class. There has been much dispute among our teaching assistants for the composition courses about the value of writing five to ten page term papers for their English classes. It is my feeling that if the student is writing a paper for another class that same quarter, or would like to revise a previously-written one, he should be allowed to do so. Those who have never written a term paper should have a choice of topics relevant to their own fields of interest, not arbitrary ones interesting to only the teacher.

2. Bibliography presented at 370K Seminar: Panel Discussion on Writing and Composition.

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3. This suggestion was made by Lois McIntosh and has been tried in her literature for foreign students course.

4. *Letters from Roger: Exercises in Communication*. Bracy and Campbell, Prentice-Hall, forthcoming.

THE ART OF LANGUAGE TEACHING

Lois McIntosh

In recent discussions and papers concerning the teaching of English as a second language, more and more emphasis has been placed on the contributions of various branches of science. Somewhere in all this, we seem to overlook the art of language teaching that should be present if really effective learning is to take place.

This is not to deny that science continues to make solid contributions. Linguistics, for example, does not claim to be the only answer to the problems of language teaching, but it contributes to our better understanding of what we are teaching. As we learn more about relatedness among sentences, as we trace to the deep structure the sources that surface as ambiguities, as we derive suggestions from contrasted language systems, we know that our teaching is better for the help from this discipline. However, if in turning to linguistics we stay too closely to its formulations and language, we may not be teaching the English language at all.

Reassured by the cognitive psychologists that the learner need not be conditioned like a pigeon by endless repetition and rewarding of an unvarying task, we can abandon mim-mem as the only possible way to teach languages. We do not abandon repetition, per se, but we so elicit it that the learner is engaged completely in the activity.

Pedagogy enjoins us to state in unequivocal, specific terms the observable human behavior our teaching will bring about in the learner. Surely, these three disciplines make language teaching carefully and scientifically exact. Is there then, any room for art in teaching? If so, in what does it consist? The art of language teaching lies in our remembering that language is a human activity, and that no blueprint can exactly foresee the direction it may take. We can sequence our sentences, and indeed we should; we can structure our activities to promote efficient achievement of our goals. But if we are not ready for the unexpected, if we are not eager to seize every opportunity to move ahead in language, we are overlooking a very important dimension. When we talk about having a language lesson begin with the manipulation of structures, and have it progress through careful stages to the moment when communication takes place, we may be suggesting that every lesson will work out that way, and that if we hold a stop watch on each activity, we will prevail in a final burst of human interaction.

The art of a language lesson lies rather in detecting the first possible moment when the learners want to break out of the mold and use language for themselves. They may not be accurate, but they are using language as it should be used--to say something, to communicate. This is dangerous advice for the teacher who just likes to have her students talk. It is advice that will be ignored by the teacher who holds firmly to steps A-Z in each lesson, and does not falter. But it is true, nonetheless, that a good language lesson should have behind it, the possibilities of branching out, or going back over, or going on as planned. We must not be so caught up in schedules that we lose sight of human behavior.

To be specific: Lessons for beginners often suffer from the limits placed on them. There is so much grammar to be learned in lesson one, that we should not crowd vocabulary into it, we say. We identify pencils, pens, blackboards, and all the point-at-ables in the classroom, and the students repeat the sentences, ask and answer the simple questions. But why not start lesson one with

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[*] Paper delivered at the NAFSA conference in Kansas City, Missouri, April 30, 1970

people? Why not identify some learners in a classroom--Sam and Sally in a high school language class; Miss Voltaire from France, Mr. Restrepo from Colombia, Mr. Kim from Korea in a college class. We need to teach sentences with the forms of BE. And these sentences can concern people just as well as chalk or pencils. The added advantage is that as people they will use language, argue, contradict, laugh and cry. They will be human, and as human models their behavior can be taken over by the language learners.

In each new lesson, the characters can carry the structures, gain personality, perform activities that will then be adopted by the students. Textbooks often have a format like the following:

BE + Place

He's at school
She's at church
They're at home

The structure has been pointed out. The examples illustrate the structure. But the opportunities to exploit the material are limited. We don't know anything about he, she and they. Put Miss Voltaire in church, Mrs. and Mr. Lee at home, and Mr. Restrepo at school. This adds to our information. It adds the possibility of negation: (Miss Voltaire isn't at school. She's at church.) If we used the sentences with the pronouns, we might not be quite as convinced, and we might not care enough to locate them properly. As soon as possible use sentences with men, women, boys, and girls as subjects. The art of the language lesson lies in getting as much mileage as possible out of a situation. It is easier to construct drills around a set of people, and it is easier to get the necessary repetition of the grammatical structures if we are talking about people with whom we can identify. It is possible too, to restrain our tendency to introduce random sentences on a dozen subjects just because the verb operates in the same way in all of them.

The art of a language lesson lies too in keeping it open-ended. If the textbook has telling time in lesson three, and renting a room in lesson four, let's not go on to lesson four until we have fully exploited lesson three. If we can take a basic structure and branch out into several related contexts, we may be contributing to the language learner's general information and his powers of problem-solving.

Lesson three in the text introduces our elementary-level students to the possibilities of telling time. If the lesson is taught in the United States, the region in which it is taught may determine the form it takes: What time is it? It's ten (after) (past) eight.
It's ten (of)(till)(before) nine.
When we have set the pattern of question and answer, we can develop more fluency by bringing in the time zones into which the United States is divided. What time is it in San Francisco? What time is it in New York? We can consider the international date line and speculate on the hour and day of the week on the other side of it. In doing this, the same grammatical feature, augmented with a few in + place structures will be practiced again and again. Relativity is implicit. The world is outside the window of the class.

This example underlines the responsibility of the language teacher to push beyond the limits of the drill, and to add to knowledge. The learner must do some reasoning. Repetition is not the only thing that should happen.

When we go beyond the outline of the textbook, we often add vocabulary.

If we are committed to a rigid control of vocabulary while the basic structures of the language are mastered, this will be inhibiting. But if we need new words and phrases to develop a meaningful context, and if the new words and phrases will be practiced in this lesson and in the next and later on, we should introduce them even though they violate some arbitrary standard we may be trying to hold to. Repetition by re-occurrence is better than repetition by saturation. If we repeat strictly sequenced sentences using a rigidly limited vocabulary, and use each sentence only in one lesson, we have gained nothing.

The art of a language lesson also lies in tying together forms and sentences that go together, that are related in some way. When we introduce the possessive form of pronouns (*my*, *his*), it may be early in the sequence. But when we introduce the *have* of possession, the two should be brought together: Mr. Restrepo *has* brown hair. *His* eyes are brown too. When we are introducing modal auxiliaries we have a choice of showing their occurrence in the verb phrase:

John can go
will
may

or, we can introduce them in the ways in which they are used:

Be careful, John. *I will be.*
Don't get run over. *I won't.*

Instead of lining up *might* with other hypothetical forms:

It might rain
could
should
would

with all the implications left unexplained, we can introduce *might* with *better*: advice against a contingency:

You'd better hurry.	*You might miss the train.*
You'd better take an umbrella.	*It might rain.*

These examples are simply to remind us to listen to our speech, and to group those similarities that go together. The linguists are doing this with relatedness. It is up to us to incorporate the element of language in a recognizable situation. When we work with advanced students, we apply our art by specific examples of what we are trying to teach. We expose these students to differences in register. We can offer a rule, or we can offer an example followed by a rule:

Rule only: Use of compounds with *no*, result in a more formal register than the use of a negated verb followed by compounds with *any*.

Limited example: *The children were nowhere to be found.*
The children weren't anywhere to be found.

Use of extended example:

Stephen went into the dark room. He could see *no one*, he could hear *nothing*, he could sense *nobody* near him. His friends were *nowhere* to be found, and *at no time* before had he felt so alone and deserted.

(*Formal register*: no-compounds: inversion of verb in final clause because of negative adverb: *at no time before*)

Comparison with: Stephen went into the dark room. He *couldn't see anyone*, he *couldn't hear anything*, he *couldn't sense any one* near him. His friends *weren't anywhere* to be found, and he *hadn't felt so alone* and deserted in a long time.

(*Informal register*: Negated verb followed by *any*-compounds; contracted *n't*; normal word order of final clause.)

This introduction is followed by two drills--from formal to informal; from informal to formal. The sentences arise from the introductory context, and stay within a framework of human activity related to it.

In teaching the use of two-word verbs to advanced students, we can group them according to separability and inseparability: They called us up; They ran out of supplies. We can group them according to the particle: verbs followed by up, verbs followed by at. We can introduce them as contributors to a certain register by showing what happens if we use an equivalent:

Compare:

Mike awoke from a nap. He arose and showered. He had exhausted the supply of soap, and he had to function without it. That raised the subject of investigating his supplies. He examined the food in the refrigerator and found that he had completely consumed the eggs and butter. He had also exhausted the supply of milk and bread. He knew he could never manage without food, nor could he postpone payment of his grocery bill. He felt sure that the grocer could not permit him to evade payment of his debts.

Compare:

Mike woke up from his nap. He got up and took a shower. He had used up all the soap the day before, so he had to get along without it. That brought up the subject of looking into his supplies. He looked over the food in the refrigerator and found that he had eaten up all the eggs and butter. He had run out of milk and bread too. He knew that he couldn't get by without food and he couldn't put off paying his grocery bill. The grocer wouldn't let him get away with that, he felt sure.

Not every verb followed by particle is an example of the "two-word" verb, but the examples illustrate what happens to style when the verbs are selected in groups and presented in context. The examples would be followed by exercises to translate from one level to another. At this advanced level, our concern is less with strict sequencing and rigid vocabulary control, but we are still concerned with the fact that language belongs to human beings. If our examples arise from simple situations, they can lead later into more abstract and esoteric uses. But if we begin with the abstract, we will lose our learners. The art of a language lesson lies in remembering that language belongs to people. It lies in beginning simply but naturally in situations and contexts in which a given group can find identity and relevance. It offers opportunities for the learners to behave like human beings--to agree and contradict, to ask and give information. Once the foundations have been established in usable speech patterns, the language can be applied to other contexts, to different registers, to the written form and its necessary adjustments. It will lend itself to subjects that will increase the users' awareness and knowledge.

We do not stop with the outlines in the textbook. We do not stop with statement, statement negated, and question repeated after a model. We begin there. Then we move deeper into experience, using this particular structure as the basis. All lessons, from those for beginners to those for the advanced, should open horizons, challenge the learner, move him on to greater use of the language. If all this has been said before, and it has, it needs to be said again. Too many of us depend too much on the minimum in the textbooks. We need to exert our imaginations and add art to our teaching.

THE NOTION OF DIACRITICS IN MODERN ENGLISH GRAPHOLOGY

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As many candidates in the M.A. TESL program at UCLA are interested in and work on topics concerning problems of spelling and reading in English, I thought it might be useful to include the revised version of an article that I published in BRNO STUDIES IN ENGLISH, Volume Eight, 1969, 61-67, some time ago. It deals with what seems a major problem in English spelling, i.e., the frequent use of "silent" letters, and offers an interpretation of the functions of some of the silent graphemes. In a way, this study may also be considered an application of contrastive analysis: a Czech observer of English, whose native tongue makes extravagant use of diacritics in its writing system, finds it possible to transpose this over-all idea of the use of diacritics into the system of English orthography.

Already in the 1930's, the members of the Prague School of Linguistics were interested in establishing the autonomy observable in the written language in comparison with the corresponding spoken language. It was, in particular, Josef Vachek who, over the past thirty years or so, published a number of studies dealing with problems of written language, printed language, orthography, etc., from the point of view of structural and functional linguistics.[1]

J. Vachek has so far summed up his research into problems of the written language in his study "Two Chapters on Written English".[2] He emphasizes that the written norm of a language should not be identified with orthography which is, so to say, a bridge leading from the spoken language to its written counterparts, whereas in the opposite direction, from the written language to the spoken language, we deal with pronunciation. We would prefer here to use the term "reading aloud". A spelling system (or the graphology of a language) may not be adequate in both directions, J. Vachek refers to the two qualities that a spelling system should have to serve both purposes, viz. the qualities of "surveyability" and "learnability", the former suits the reader and the latter suits the writer. There are not many spelling systems that meet the needs of both. Significantly the American Rudolf Flesch says in his often quoted book *Why Johnny can't read, and What we can do about it*: "Many years ago, when I was about fifteen, I took a semester's course in Czech. I have since forgotten everything about the language itself, but I still remember how the letters are pronounced, plus the simple rule that all words have the accent on the first syllable. Armed with this knowledge, I once surprised a native of Prague by reading aloud from a Czech newspaper. 'Oh, you know Czech?', he asked. 'No, I don't understand a word of it', I answered, 'I can only read'.[3] This is understandable if we take into account that Czech spelling is made up of 25 unmarked graphemes (including one digraph) and 15 graphemes marked with a diacritic, i.e. 40 graphemes altogether, practically all of which are phonemically univalent. This greater number of graphemes makes reading easier in Czech than in English though English has only 26 single graphemes at the disposal of its spelling, the great majority of which, however, are phonemically multivalent.[4] If we apply Vachek's statement about the two qualities that a spelling system should have in order to serve both the reader and the writer to ModE. spelling, we may look at its seemingly high irregularity and often bemoaned chaotic state from two points of view, i.e. from the point of the writer and from the point of the reader. Both, no doubt, face great difficulties in learning to write or to read English. But we may ask: "Are the difficulties arising from this state of irregularity the same both for the reader and the writer?" It seems that that question was answered in numerous treatises published in recent years which showed that there are definitely regular features--pattern structures--in present-day English spelling that, if disclosed, could make the task of learning to read English easier and more successful.[5] "Learning to read means developing a considerable range of highspeed recognition responses to specific sets of patterns of graphic shapes", says Ch. C. Fries in the introduction to his book. Accordingly there are only a small number of spellings of words that do not fit into one of the spelling patterns and they present primarily problems for the writer. Fries elaborates this idea further and says (185): "The high-speed automatic recognition responses which readers must acquire differ quite clearly both in kind and in quantity from the productive skills which writers must achieve. This difference seems especially clear in respect of unstressed syllables." The reader of ModE. spelled texts must acquire the habit of rapid recognition of comparatively few arbitrary contrastive sets of spelling patterns. These patterns cannot be viewed only in the light of a simple letter-to-sound relationship, but must be seen in their complexity and should not be related only to phonology, but also to morphology and even to syntax. It means that the reader should learn to respond to a set of graphemes mostly representing words or at least syllables.

These pattern structures of ModE. spelling need not immediately convey lexical meaning. As A. McIntosh so ably showed, a written text normally carries a double load of meaning, but not necessarily always both, one is normal meaning (lexical) and the other load bears information which enables us to read out the text aloud.[6] Indeed an adequate spelling system should always enable the reader to read aloud with fair correctness any written utterance even if he does not necessarily understand its lexical meaning.[7] English spelling is sufficiently structured into typical patterns to enable us to set up a class of structures which are not in recognized use, but are acceptable in patterns and thus are legible (i.e. may be read aloud), e.g. vake, cark, crage, but not crasgle, crk, avskle which are not legible because the patterns do not exist.

Among the patterns of the graphemic structure of ModE. graphology are those that occur most frequently and should therefore by recognized first in order to develop the necessary reading skill. They include the monosyllabic words of the type C-V-C (consonantal or consonantal digraph or polygraph-C, vowel letter or vowel digraph or polygraph-V). We may contrast C_1-V-C: C_2-V-C or C-V_1-C: C-V_2-C or C-V-C_1: C-V-C_2or C_1-V_2-C: C_2-V_2-C^1etc. This basic pattern C-V-C should further be contrasted with the pattern C-V-C+e. Fries maintains that this second set that uses the final letter ⟨e⟩ that differentiates it from the pattern C-V-C is equally highly productive.[8] The "silent" ⟨e⟩ therefore performs an important function in ModE. graphology. This is only one of its many functions which deserves careful interpretation and analysis. One of the possible imterpretations of "silent" ⟨e⟩ in this particular function of contrasting the phonic load of the pattern C-V-C+e against that of C-V-C is to call it a diacritical grapheme.

The suggestion of interpreting some of the English graphemes in a given position as having the function of diacritics or of diacritical letters was put forward by some scholars in recent years. The term diacritics is usually used only in the sense of diacritical marks in writing, i.e. signs or similar devices that are placed above or below a letter in order to indicate different sounds of this letter, or they indicate accents, diaeresis, etc. If we interpret the term diacritics in the narrow sense of the word, no doubt the system of ModE. graphology appears to be rather poor in this respect and J. Nosek's general characterization of the ModE. written norm is quite appropriate on this point.[9] But the use of the term diacritics can be easily extended to graphemes. W.N. Francis gives the following definition: "When a grapheme has no phonemic reference of its own but serves instead to indicate or limit the phonemic reference of a nearby grapheme, we may say that it is being used as a diacritic or distinguishing marker. The most versatile of the graphemes of the English system in this regard is silent ⟨e⟩ ...The most common use of ⟨e⟩ as a diacritic is following a single consonantal, which itself follows a single vocalic, in a syllable bearing at least tertiary stress...The grapheme ⟨e⟩ also serves as a diacritic with certain ambiguous consonantals and consonantal combinations. Thus it may indicate the /s/ value of ⟨c⟩ or the /j/ value of ⟨g⟩ etc. It may also combine its two diacritical functions as in the pair lac: lace /læk: leis.[10] According to W.N. Francis other graphemes beside ⟨e⟩ may also serve as diacritics of various sorts. Thus ⟨i⟩ may function like ⟨e⟩ to distinguish the /j/ reference of g as in *vestigial*. This assertion is in disagreement with the author's definition of a diacritical grapheme; the letter ⟨i⟩ denotes here its own phonemic reference and also indicates the phonemic value of the preceding grapheme ⟨g⟩. His further application of the term "diacritical grapheme" in the case of ⟨h⟩ in letter combinations *ch*, *sh*, *th* is rather doubtful. The grapheme ⟨h⟩ does not indicate here phonemic change in the phonic values of ⟨t⟩, ⟨s⟩, ⟨c⟩ in the sense of structure or pattern of structure as in the case of "silent" ⟨e⟩. Wherever the digraphs *th*, *ch*, *sh* appear they seem to be inseparable or indivisible and cannot be contrasted with graphemic structures in which ⟨t⟩, ⟨s⟩, ⟨c⟩ appear separately in the same sense of regularity as, let us say, in the pairs of the type of *man*: *mane*. Items like *mishap*, *mishandle* should be considered marginal, signalling apart from phonic meaning also grammatical (morphemic) meaning, to use A. McIntosh's arguments. While the diacritical grapheme ⟨e⟩ in all cases where the letter *e* has this function seems to indicate a phonemic feature or a change of phonemic values (if we consider the graphemic structure pattern without *e* as the unmarked member of the contrasting pair) of the same basic character, viz. the lengthening or diphthongization of the syllabographic vowel grapheme, we cannot say the same about the changes indicated by the grapheme ⟨h⟩ in respect to ⟨t⟩, ⟨s⟩, ⟨c⟩ because the corresponding phonemes /š/, /č/, /ð/, /θ/ have hardly any phonemic relevance in common. If we were to include in this series also the digraph *ph*, which we can no longer include among graphemic foreignisms in a synchronic interpretation of ModE. graphology we have yet another argument against interpreting ⟨h⟩ as a diacritical grapheme in ModE. Neither would we find it appropriate so to interpret ⟨h⟩ in the digraph *gh*, which is, no doubt, one of the most difficult graphemic devices in ModE. spelling to be analysed as a diacritic although in Middle English writing the letter *h* seems to have acquired an exact, specific diacritical function, viz. to denote the voiceless character of the sound referred to by the first element of the digraph that stood for /χ/.[11]

Martin Joos, too, upholds the idea of introducing the notion of diacritical graphemes in an analysis of ModE. graphology.[12] He mentions the "function of silent ⟨e⟩ as a diacritic of vowel-sounds traditionally called long". In addition to the possible diacritical graphemes enumerated by N. Francis, M. Joos refers to "the letter ⟨r⟩ which may be regarded, to any appropriate extent, as a diacritic like the hats extending the power of the alphabet without extra letters." We consider this an important observation to which we would like to return in a later section of this paper.

The notion of diacritics has been applied to a great extent in the very interesting Russian monograph on the graphology of ModE. by V.I. Balinskaja.[13] The author distinguishes diacritical signs attached to letters which help to enlarge the number of the letters of the alphabet to correspond more adequately to the phonemics of a given language, and letter diacritics which are letters of the alphabet used to denote a certain phonic meaning of other letters of the same alphabet. Such diacritical letters either precede or follow the letter the phonemic valence of which they help to determine. In this way a great number of letters used in the ModE. alphabet may be charged with the function of serving as diacritics, e.g. preceding ⟨w⟩ denotes /ɔ:/ in war as compared with bar, ⟨u⟩ determines the reading of /k/ in cup etc. Hence V.I. Balinskaja assumes that silent final ⟨e⟩ is not the only factor that acts as a diacritic in structure patterns like mane, ice etc. She speaks here about the alternating digraphs of the type be, ce, de, fe, ge, ke, le, me, ne, pe, se, te, /ve/, ze. These digraphs as units perform the function of diacritics at the end of stressed syllabographs denoting their "long" pronunciation. The "silent" final ⟨e⟩ is inseparably linked with the preceding consonantal letter and only in this way influences the immediately preceding vowel letter and fully exploits the diacritical function of the whole digraph. The alternating digraphs or occasional trigraphs (the, ste, ble) perform the same function in denoting the length of the immediately preceding vowel letters as do final position digraphs, as e.g. gh, th, st or letter combinations as e.g. ss, nd. V.I. Balinskaja did not include the digraph re among the alternating diacritical digraphs in which the second part is silent final ⟨e⟩. She maintains that there is no analogy between let us say cane and care. In the first case we have a combination of graphemes ⟨c⟩+⟨a⟩+⟨ne⟩, in the second case we have ⟨c⟩+⟨are⟩ (i.e. a trigraph denoting one specific phoneme), whereas there is analogy between the items fine and find (⟨f⟩+⟨i⟩+⟨nd⟩: ⟨f⟩+⟨i⟩+⟨ne⟩). When summing up the various functions of silent ⟨e⟩ the author also speaks about its diacritical function in the grapheme clusters ⟨ble⟩, ⟨cre⟩ (table, acre) denoting the disyllabic character of the word in question. In the letter combinations se, ge the diacritical function of ⟨e⟩ is within the digraph itself denoting the pronunciation /s/, /ž/ or /dž/. While V.I. Balinskaja pays great attention to the so-called mixed letter groupings (clusters) composed of vowel and consonantal letters in combination with r and devotes a special chapter to these combinations, of which she lists 37 combinations divided into five main types (pp. 286-313), she does not seem to be inclined to consider the function of the grapheme ⟨r⟩ in these clusters to be of particular importance in the sense of what she calls "letter diacritics". This is due to the fact that in her view, as we mentioned above, any letter of the alphabet may perform this diacritical function as long as by its presence the phonic valence of a preceding or following grapheme is affected. Here the author is underestimating the actual diacritical impact of the grapheme ⟨r⟩ immediately following a stressed vowel letter or a stressed vowel polygraph. The structure patterns in ModE. graphology which consist of vowel graphemes or vowel polygraphs plus ⟨r⟩ represent a very definite set of patterns of frequent occurrence that the English reader must be able to recognize quickly. They definitely contrast with those grapheme patterns in which the syllabographic vowel is not followed by ⟨r⟩, e.g. can, car-cane, cape, care-bid, bird etc. They are very numerous in ModE. written texts and, in a way, quite productive. The stimulus for rapid recognition of these patterns is the presence of the grapheme ⟨r⟩ which is the dominating factor in them and which has no direct phoneme correspondence (at least in the final or pre-consonantal r-less British standard pronunciation, generally called RP) and therefore in our view performs the function of a diacritic grapheme. In General American pronunciation, the ⟨r⟩ grapheme is sounded and so refers to its own phonetic value, but it also refers to the different phonetic value of the preceding vowel graphemes--single or complex ones--from those of the same graphemes when followed by a different letter than ⟨r⟩; [E.g., compare the different sounding of the vowel graphemes in AE in the following pairs of words: hear, heat; hearer, heater; bid, bird; pack, park; etc.] In the spelling of AE the grapheme ⟨r⟩ has thus a double functional load: it serves as a grapheme with direct reference to a phoneme, but it also has a diacritical function of influencing the different phonetic status of the preceding vowel grapheme(s).

From what we have said so far about the possibility of applying the notion of grapheme diacritics in an analysis of ModE. graphology follows that we believe that this notion should be primarily applied to "silent" ⟨e⟩ in certain positions of a written syllable or word and to ⟨r⟩ in certain positions of a written syllable or word. While in the case of diacritical ⟨e⟩ we may refer to it as to a non-contagious diacritical grapheme denoting the phonemic valence of the not-immediately preceding syllabic vowel grapheme, in the case of diacritical ⟨r⟩ we have a contagious diacritical grapheme denoting the immediately preceding syllabic vowel grapheme. In cases like care, cure, mere etc. both grapheme diacritics ⟨e⟩ and ⟨r⟩ perform their functions. We do not think it opportune to segment ModE. graphemic structures in such a way as to detect in them grapheme clusters or polygraphs that would include final "silent" ⟨e⟩ and "silent" ⟨r⟩. Grapheme combinations of this kind are not "fixed, recurrent, indivisible typified groups of (two, three or more) letters which stand mostly for one phoneme each (as ie, oo, ch, tch, gh, sc etc.):[14] The diacritical graphemes indicate in them certain phonemic changes that occur when the vowel graphemes in the syllables that are usually under stress are read aloud. These changes are qualitatively related and in many ways regular, i.e. they represent graphemic structure patterns.

One of the characteristic features of ModE. graphology is the frequent occurrence of what are commonly called "silent letters". These are graphemes that have zero phonic valence or no phonic reference or "meaning" to use the terms suggested by A. McIntosh. These silent graphemes, however, perform other functions in order to enforce the quality of "surveyability" of English written texts, they are distinguishing markers denoting differences in lexical meaning, in particular with homophones, in morphemic segmentation, in word or syllable boundaries. The really "silent" letters, that is graphemes that perform no function whatsoever, may be detected only very rarely and are mostly spelling foreignisms, e.g. debt, rheumatic etc. Let us take a closer view of the many functions that are performed by the "silent final ⟨e⟩".[15] These functions are usually divided into those with no phonic reference and those with some phonic reference. The first group includes those cases in which ⟨e⟩ indicates the end of a word, e.g. live, love, breeze, some, *swore*, *-gue*, *-cue*, *-ture*, *-sure* etc., the cases in which it prolongs the written word because there is a very definite tendency in ModE. spelling against two-letter words, e.g. *doe*, *toe*, *die* etc., the cases in which it is part of a morpheme, e.g. *fined* against *find*, *bard* against *barred* etc., the cases in which it is a distinction marker of homophones or a prophylaxis against homographs, e.g. *tens* against *tense*, *hears* against *hearse*, *cleans* against *cleanse*, *dying* against *dyeing* etc. To the second group belong the cases in which "silent" ⟨e⟩ after a single consonantal grapheme or occasionally after a digraph (*th*, *st*) performs a diacritical function in reference to the preceding usually stressed syllabic vowel grapheme, e.g. *provide*, *mistake*, *mode* etc., in a way it also performs here the function of denoting the disyllabic appearance of the written word, especially if we contrast *take* against *taking*, *provide* against *providing* etc.; this brings us to the next case of this group in which "silent" ⟨e⟩ clearly emphasizes the disyllabic character of the word and may in this way also perform a diacritical function, e.g. *trouble*, *nestle*, etc.; in the cases where it denotes the phonemic value of the preceding *g* or *c* its diacritical functions seems to us doubtful and grapheme clusters like *ge*, *gi*, *gy*, *ci*, *ce*, *cy* against *gu*, *ga*, *go*, *g* + *consonantal grapheme*, *ca*, *co*, *cu*, and *c* + *consonantal grapheme* rather seem to speak in favour of an interpretation in the sense of digraphs; the same holds good for the function of the grapheme ⟨e⟩ in combinations with *th*, *s* in which it helps to denote the voiced consonant (e.g. *breathe*, *raise* etc).

It would be wrong to suggest that the "silent" ⟨e⟩ has in all these cases only one definite function, i.e. one of the many functions that has been enumerated above. In the analysis of items we would have to state that two or more functions of "silent" ⟨e⟩ coincide or that one of the functions is sometimes neutralized by another, e.g. in *fined* ⟨e⟩ has the function of a diacritic and also that of a morpheme marker, in *gave* it has the function of a diacritic and of indicating the end of the word, in *table* the function of a diacritic and of denoting the disyllabic character of the word, etc. In other words the grapheme ⟨e⟩ in ModE. has a large load of potential phonic and linguistic meanings[16]; in the situational context of its occurrences it may have one or two or even three actual linguistic or phonic meanings. When "silent" ⟨e⟩ performs its diacritical function it forces the reader to recognise automatically and immediately the written syllable or word taken as a whole so that he may respond to it quickly and adequately in the process of reading aloud. The same may be said about the grapheme ⟨r⟩ when functioning as a diacritic. In stating this we would like to reemphasize the clearly syllabographic or logographic character of ModE. graphology which has been stressed so often before by many scholars who have contributed to a better understanding of the system and structure of ModE. spelling.

Notes

[1] Cf. Josef Vachek, The Linguistic School of Prague, Indiana University Press, 1966, especially Chapters 1 and 8.

[2] J. Vachek, "Two Chapters on Written English", *Brno Studies in English*. 1.7-38 (Prague, 1959)-Cf. also his more recent paper "K obecným otázkám pravopisu a psané normy jazyka" [On General Problems of Orthography and the Written Norm of Language], *Slovo a slovesnost* 25. 117-26 (Prague 1964).

[3] 23 (New York, 1955).

[4] Cf. Jiri Kraus, "K některým otázkám pravopisu z hlediska grafematické soustavy češtiny"[Some Problems of Orthography in the Light of Czech Graphology], Slovo a slovesnost 25.5.-4 (Prague, 1965). The author draws attention to the usefulness of the terms "orthoanagraphic" referring to the univalent correspondence of letters to phonemes, thus serving the purpose of writing, and orthoanagnostic, thus serving the purpose of reading. These terms have been introduced by M. Janakiev, "Osnovy teorii ortografii" [Fundamental Theory of Orthography], Voprosy jazykoznaniya 5.47-57(Moscow, 1963).

[5] Let us quote here only some of them. Ch.C. Fries, Linguistics and Reading 265 (New York, 1965); Axel Wijk, Regularized English, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis VII. 361 (1959); Axel Wijk, Rules of Pronunciation for the English Language 160 (Stockholm, 1965)(cf. edition of the same in the series Language and Learning, Oxford University Press, London, 1966); C.A. Lefevre, Linguistics and the Teaching of Reading 252 (New York, 1964); R.H. Weir and R. Venezky, Rules to Aid the Teaching of Reading, Research Project No. 2584 (Stanford Univ., 1965); R.H. Weir and R. Venezky, A Study of Selected Spelling-to-Sound Correspondence Patterns, Research Project 3090 (Stanford Univ., 1966).--R.H. Weir, Formulation of Grapheme-Phoneme Correspondence Rules to Aid in the Teaching of Reading, Research Project S-039 (Stanford Univ., 1964); W.R. Lee, Spelling Irregularities and Reading Difficulties in English, Occasional Publication, 74 (London, 1957); M. Lehnert Schreibung und Aussprache im Englischen 43 (berlin, G.D.R. 1963).

[6] A. McIntosh, "Graphology and Meaning", Archivum Linguisticum 13.107-20 (Glasgow, 1961); republished in M.A.K. Halliday, A. MacIntosh, Patterns of Language 89-110 (London, 1966).

[7] Cf. M. Joos's review of Regularized English by Axel Wijk in Language 36.250-62 (Baltimore, 1960).

[8] Fries, op.cit. 177. The author mentions the following interesting experiment: "Small groups of ten or more educated adults were asked to write, first, ten one-syllable "nonsense" words; then, afterwards, ten two-syllable "nonsense" words; and finally, ten three-syllable "nonsense" words. The nonsense words produced were all within the three major sets of spelling patterns, and more than 90% within the two sets mentioned here" (182).

[9] J. Nosek, "A Systematic Analysis of Modern English Graphics", Prague Studies in English 9.53-67 (Prague, 1961): "It is a system of visual alphabetic characters, aiming at a (rough) representation ofthe phonemic system in native words, by means of letters (polygraphs) and excluding diacritics, and it represents higher linguistic units (words and morphemes) globally by means of letter clusters, and often without straight relation to phonemic counterparts." The absence of diacritical marks in ModE. graphology is even more apparent if we compare it with ModCz. graphology as shown above.

[10] W.N. Francis, The Structure of American English: Chapter 8 ("Writing it down: Graphics") 460ff. (New York, 1958).

[11] Cf. J. Vachek's paper (note[1]), 25. Nosek's criticism of this point in his review of Vachek's paper (Philologica Pragensia 3.117-19(Prague, 1960) is not justified. In the synchronic interpretation of Middle E. graphology the situation is different from that in Mod.E. graphology and, moreover,

Nosek takes a too narrow view of the term diacritics as a means of interpreting writing systems. It may be worth mentioning here that the German present-day reader of New High German writings has no hesitation in reading proper names in which instead of the Umlaut graphemes ⟨ä⟩⟨ö⟩⟨ü⟩ are still used the diagraphs ae, oe, ue (e.g. Goethe, or the typed versions of telegrammes) to denote the Umlaut phonemes. The diacritical function of the grapheme letter ⟨e⟩ cannot be doubted here.

[12] See note[6].

[13] V.I. Balinskaja, Grafika sovremennovo anglijskovo jazyke [The Graphics of Present-Day English] 354 (Moscow, 1964).

[14] Cf. Nosek's definition of polygraphs (see note[9]).

[15] Cf. V.I. Balinskaja, op. cit. (note[13]) 96(Chapter "The final silent letter "e"); or A. Wijk, Regularized English (see note[4]) 322(Chapter VII: The Final Silent E); or A. Wijk "Rules of Pronunciation: (see note[5]) 81(Chapter VI: The Final Silent E).--It is worth mentioning here A. Wijk's assessment of the importance of "silent" ⟨e⟩ in ModE. graphology, which could be formulated in the light of our discussion as follows: "It performs its diacritical function so consistently that in a more "regularized" system of English spelling [i.e. what Wijk has attempted to compose--V.F.] it must be introduced even in these cases where it does not exist in the present spelling to indicate "length", e.g. one should write finde, moste, etc."

[16] We try to follow here along the lines suggested by A. McIntosh in his paper, see note[5].

DICTATION AS A DEVICE FOR TESTING FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

John W. Oller, Jr.

The present paper reports data supporting the use of dictation as a technique for testing foreign language proficiency. The data to be reported were gathered as part of an on-going evaluation and revision of the English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE) for the University of California at Los Angeles.

The current form of the examination, which has been in use for the last ten years, consists of five parts. Each part is intended to test a skill or skills essential to the use of the English language by foreign students in the successful performance of required academic tasks. The five parts of the test consist of a section on vocabulary, a composition, a phonological discrimination task, the selection of grammatically acceptable sentences (with multiple choice items), and a dictation. In order to attempt to determine the amount of overlap between skills measured by each part of the test, scores of 100 students selected at random from the 350 who took the ESLPE in the fall of 1968 were analyzed by a multiple-correlation technique.[1] Each part of the test was correlated with each other part and with the total score which was used as the dependent variable. It was discovered that the dictation correlated more highly with each other part of the test than did any other part. In other words, when the correlations between each section and each other section were rank ordered, the dictation came out first in every possible category. The dictation was insignificantly lower than the composition as a predictor of the total score. The results of the analysis are given in Table 1, below.)

	Total	Vocab	Grammar	Composition	Phonology	Dictation
Total	1.000	.8116	.8250	.8883	.7094	.8793
Vocab	.8116	1.000	.6543	.5752	.4949	.7150
Grammar	.8250	.6543	1.000	.6174	.5487	.6936
Comp	.8883	.5752	.6174	1.000	.5600	.7248
Phon	.7094	.4949	.5487	.5600	1.000	.5986
Dict	.8793	.7150	.6936	.7248	.5986	.1000

Table I

The correlations between the dictation and other parts of the examination were significant at the .001 level of confidence. (Roughly speaking, this means that any one of the correlations of the observed magnitudes could be expected to occur by accident less than one time in a thousand observations.) In short, the dictation clearly seems to be the best single measure of the totality of English language skills being tested.[2]

These results would clearly seem to refute the conclusions of certain authorities who have argued that dictation as a testing device is quite inferior to other techniques. For example, Robert Lado has stated:

> Dictation...on critical inspection...appears to measure very little of language. Since the word order is given..., it does not test word order. Since the words are given..., it does not test vocabulary. It hardly tests the aural perception of the examiner's pronunciation, because the words can in many cases be identified by context...The student is less likely to hear the sounds incorrectly in the slow reading of the words which is necessary for dictation (1961: 34).

David Harris has remarked:

> As a testing device...dictation must be regarded as generally both uneconomical and imprecise (1969: 5).

D.F. Anderson says:

> Some teachers argue that dictation is a test of auditory comprehension, but surely this is a very indirect and inadequate test of such an important skill (1953: 43).

W.R.P. Somaratne states:

> Dictation is primarily a test of spelling (1957: 48).

Certainly, the data presented above tend to refute these statements. Even in the absence of such data, however, there is a great deal to be said from a theoretical point of view in support of dictation as a testing technique. For example, Lado's statement that in dictation "the word-order is given by the examiner" is credible only from the vantage point of the speaker (examiner)--since he knows the words and word-order. For the listener (the student in this case), as Saussure observed many years ago:

> ...the main characteristic of the sound chain is that it is linear. Considered by itself it is only a line, a continuous ribbon along which the ear perceives no self-sufficient and clear-cut division,... (1959: 103-4).

In order to segment the chain an active process of analysis is necessary. This analysis is no simple matter as anyone who has attempted to accomplish speech perception by machine will attest.[3]

While the words and word-order may be "given" from the viewpoint of the speaker (who knows what message he had encoded), they are not in the same sense "given" from the vantage-point of the listener. He must discover them. A cursory look at errors common in dictations reveals order inversions: e.g., "as change to continues" for "as change continues to"; "some by an even" for "by something even"; "barely have a chance" for "has barely a chance".[4] Moreover, words and phrases are often understood incorrectly: e.g., "scientists examinations" and "scientists imaginations" which are foreign student renderings of "scientists from many nations". Also, extra words may be inserted: e.g., "for at least five hundred thousand years" instead of "for at least five thousand years"; "of our life" for "of life"; "of the time" for "of time"; "they are never made" for "they never made".[5] These examples, which could be multiplied indefinitely, clearly illustrate the fact that neither words nor word-orders are supplied to the student in a clear and unambiguous form. Rather, the student is given a sequence of sounds from which an intended set of words in sequence must be extracted.

Even in briefly glancing at the errors students make in taking dictation, it becomes quite clear that the student does not merely hear words in a particular order and write them down. Rather, he hears sound sequences, bounded occasionally by silence or pauses, but which are otherwise strung together without obvious boundaries between them: he actively segments these sequences into words, phrases, and sentences that make sense to him.[6] Clearly, common errors suggest a dynamic process of analysis-by-syntheses. The student not only receives auditory information, but he processes this information in order to generate a sentence (or sequence of them) that has meaning. This is by no means the simple activity that Lado's statement implies. It is in fact one of the most complex processes known to man--a process which to date is not fully understood. In fact, all attempts to simulate it have failed in important respects.[7]

Harris's statement that dictation is "uneconomical" and "imprecise" may have more in its favor. However, the economy of administering a test is largely to be determined in terms of the amount of information that the test ultimately provides. The fact that dictation tests a broad range of integrative skills may outweigh the difficulties involved in administration and correction. Moreover, the effectiveness of dictation as a diagnostic device may even be superior to tests involving multiple choice, short answers, fill-in blanks, etc., which are sometimes thought to be more accurate. The reason for this is that a dictation is apt to provide a more comprehensive sampling of the integrative skills involved in the understanding of complex English.

Anderson's statement that dictation is an inadequate test of auditory comprehension is contradicted by our data, and seems to have no substantial arguments in its favor. Somaratne's interpretation of dictation as a "test of spelling" seems to indicate a serious lack of understanding of the process of speech perception. While dictation does measure control of a language's graphological system, this is certainly not all that it reveals.

Perhaps there is a still more basic error in arguments against dictation as a testing device. Lado's statement, quoted above, seems to imply that the more analytical objective tests are superior to tests which require the integrative use of language competence. This is probably a reflection of the still current tendency of many linguists to treat the elements of language analytically. Bloomfieldian linguists attempted to treat linguistic utterances as purely objective phenomena apart from the settings in which they occurred. They attempted to deal with language (as much as possible) without dealing with meaning. The now prominent school of Chomskyan transformationalists also employs an analytical technique which treats language as a self-contained system apart from its use in communication. Both of these procedures have been seriously challenged recently,[8] and it would seem that the arguments employed against them are to a certain extent applicable here. If it is indeed true that language cannot be successfully explained apart from its use as a medium of communication[9], it would follow that analytical tests of language competence which remove linguistic units from the meaningful contexts in which they occur are apt to be less valid than integrative tests which are more relevant to communication skills. Certainly, dictation, which requires the perception of meaningful speech, falls into the latter category.

The processes involved in taking a dictation may be represented as shown in Figure 1.

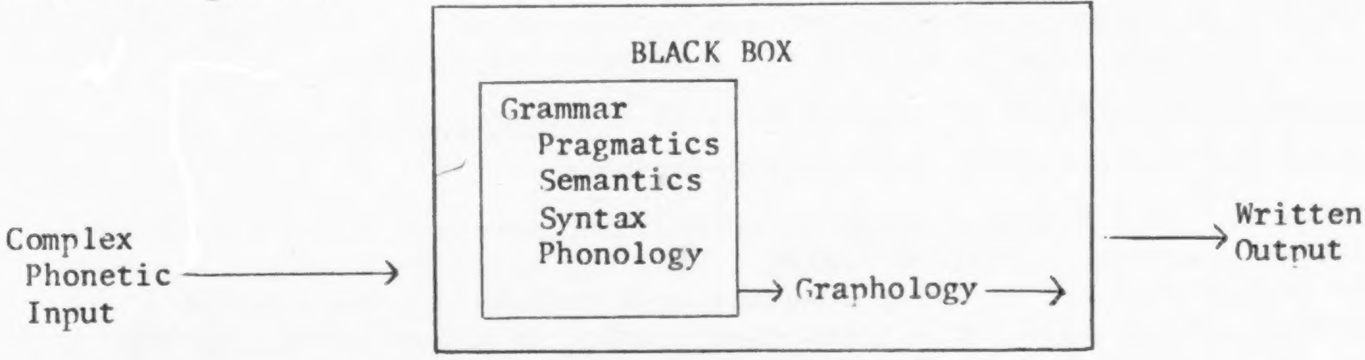

Figure 1

While the interactions between phonology, lexicon, grammar, and graphology are bound to be very complex, at least as many systems as those suggested in the schematic are required for writing a dictation. The student is tested for his ability to (a) discriminate phonological units, (b) make decisions concerning word boundaries in order to discover sequences of words and phrases that make sense, i.e., that are grammatical and meaningful, and (c) translate this analysis into a graphemic representation.

In conclusion, though a good deal more experimentation needs to be done in the area of evaluating foreign language testing techniques, it seems safe to conclude that dictation is a useful device for measuring foreign language proficiency. It has not been the intent of this paper, however, merely to support the use of dictation, but also to encourage an experimental attitude toward problems related to foreign language testing in general. While the statements of experts may be essential in the beginning stages of a science, for a field of study to progress, there must be an increasing reliance on tested hypotheses, and a decreasing dependence on the pronouncements of authorities.

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[1] I would like to thank George Allen for help with the statistics and computer programming for the present study.

[2] Rebecca Valette (1967) reports that she also found a high correlation (.90) between scores on a dictation and combined listening, reading, and writing scores on a German examination. On the basis of another study, Valette (1964) had reported: "For students possessing minimal experience with dictee, the dictee can validly be substituted for the traditional final examination in first semester French" (p. 434). Others who have argued in favor of the use of dictation as a testing and/or teaching device are Fe Dacanay (1963), Mary Finocchiaro (1958), and J. Sawyer and Shirley Silver (1961).

[3] For some discussion of the complexity of the speech recognition process and the mechanical simulation of it, see W.B. Newcomb (1967).

[4] These examples were taken from three students' renderings of the dictation given in September, 1969, as part of UCLA's ESLPE. A comprehensive error analysis for that examination is now in progress.

[5] See note 4.

[6] Such models of human information processing are not at all uncommon. See Miller, Galanter, and Pribram (1960) and their references.

[7] See Chomsky's discussion of this process in his Language and Mind, 1968.

[8] See Oller and Sales (1969), and their references.

[9] Incidentally, this argument finds an interesting application in theories of language teaching. Clifford Prator (1965) has given an excellent statement of the need for treating language as a medium of communication in teaching. Oller (1969) discusses experimental evidence supporting the need for presenting a foreign language through meaningful communicative activity (see also references listed there).

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SUGGESTED AREAS OF RESEARCH FOR AN M.A. THESIS IN TESL

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Since the M.A. program in TESL at UCLA was initiated in 1968/69, the number of students applying for admission after successfully completing the certificate program has rapidly increased. Many of those that apply are not at all sure which area of research to choose or, even less, how to decide on a topic for the M.A. thesis which they have to submit in advance.

In order to help the candidates in 1969 to accelerate their decision, the faculty of TESL in the English Department decided to organize a seminar in the fall quarter of 1969 "On Areas of Possible Research for M.A. in TESL Theses". Ten speakers were invited to participate and describe problems in a particular field of research that has relevance to second language learning, listing possible topics for a thesis and referring students to relevant literature, etc.

By way of introduction, John Oller gave a short paper on a general topic, "What Kind of Questions can be Posed and Answered by Science?"

The great variety of research problems or topics that were included in the reports of the ten speakers reflects the extensive scope of the area in which the actual teaching of English as a second language is only a minor section. In most general terms, the area covers all that may be summed up under the title "second language acquisition". In this case language also means in fact, varieties of one language, and could be substituted by the term "dialect", so that the broadest form of the title could read "second language/or second dialect acquisition". Incidentally, the extent of the range of problems covered by the 1970 TESOL Convention in San Francisco led me to the same conclusion.

The hand-outs presented by the ten speakers will be found on the following pages. No attempt has been made to unify their presentation. I believe the variation with which the speakers chose to report on their respective areas of research is yet another proof of the great variety of approaches that is involved in studying second language acquisition.

By no means could all problems or possible topics have been listed. I myself, think that at least three broader research issues should be included in a seminar of a similar kind to be organized at a future time. They are: 1) Problems of contrastive lexical analysis which would involve deeper studies in the semantics (or, as I prefer, in the lexicology) of the two languages that are being confronted. Any experienced teacher will know that the presentation and sequencing of second language vocabulary is one of the most difficult and urgent tasks with which the classroom teacher, and also the textbook writer, is faced. Any theoretical study in this sphere that will shed some light in the darkness that envelops the teacher and classroom in this respect will be appreciated. 2) Topics in the contrastive analysis of culture as it is reflected in source and target languages; e.g., in the various types of register that exist in each language, etc. This area involves general problems of presenting "civilisation" as the French like to call it. It is a widely discussed topic in European educational circles by people who are concerned with the general place of "foreign language" in the public school curriculum. They are rightly aware of the fact that the medium of second language culture is not just its literature as it had been assumed for such a long time. 3) Special attention should be paid to the evaluation of the efficiency, practicality and use of the various audio-visual aids employed in language teaching. It is not only the highly disputed role of the language lab, but also the role of the less expensive media such as figurines, slides or transparencies, pictures, film strips, etc. A great many problems presented by these media involve the differences in the semantic structures of source and target language. Here again I think the European methodologists pay more theoretical and practical attention to the proper exploitation of these aids than has been apparent in the States.

The idea and organization of this type of seminar has been approved by the majority of students in the MA-TESL and TESL Certificate programs who attended this year's class. They said it helped them to find guidance in their search for a congenial topic. Also, future M.A. candidates may consider this survey of research areas and of possible topics for M.A. theses a useful source of information. As it may help these future candidates to decide on their topic at an earlier date in their M.A. year than was the case for so many candidates in the academic year 1969/70, the faculty of TESL decided to include this report in this year's issue of the *Workpapers*.

The following ten hand-outs are printed in the order they were presented at the seminar.

Clifford H. Prator: *Some Questions Related to the Formulation of Language Policy*

1. *What use do the members of a specified population make of the languages they know?*

The answer could be sought by means of a questionnaire designed to elicit a range of information: languages spoken, languages read, degree of proficiency, occasions with which the use of each language is associated, persons with whom each language is spoken, books and newspapers read, broadcasts listened to, letters and other documents written, films seen, etc. A less predictable way of gathering the same type of information would be to have the members of a group keep "language diaries" for a period of, say, a week. Questionnaire results can be treated statistically. Diaries would have to be analyzed as a newspaper writer analyzes his sources, but unexpected insights might thus be gained.

2. *How do people feel about the various languages with which they come in contact?*

Interesting results have been obtained by having students or others write essays about their mother tongue, the national language, or their language of instruction. It is usually best not to attempt to control the content of such essays, but to encourage the writers to let one idea lead freely to another. The essays could be analyzed by a thematic classification of the ideas expressed. Statistical answers to the same question could be obtained by having subjects rate various languages on a four-or-more-point scale with regard to pairs of adjectives such as *pleasant-unpleasant*, *strong-weak*, *easy-difficult*, *manly-effeminate*, *dignified-undignified*, etc.

3. *How easily do people give up their mother tongue when they move to an area where it is not spoken?*

The question is particularly important in large urban communities when a government is trying to foster the development of a national language. In seeking the answer, a questionnaire is probably the most useful means of gathering information. Languages spoken by parents, grandparents, and siblings? With whom does the subject live? Languages he speaks and how well? Amount and type of his education? His friends? His work? Reading habits? etc.

4. How well suited is a given language at present to be used for a specified purpose?

Worthwhile information can be gathered by having selected technical passages translated by a skilled person from English into the given language. Then a different translator can be asked to translate the translation back into English without seeing the original English passages. If possible the investigator should be present when the translations are made so as to record the translator's comments on the difficulties he encounters. An analysis of the three versions of each text can reveal a great deal about borrowings, coinage of new words, imperfect synonyms, need for circumlocutions, etc.

5. How closely related among themselves are a given group of languages? How well can speakers of one language understand another language with which they have had no previous acquaintance?

Speakers of one language can be asked to rate a number of other languages in terms of their intelligibility. Their responses can be checked by having them listen to very simple (taped) stories in the other languages and answer multiple-choice questions in their mother tongue on the content of the stories. Another approach is to construct an English word list of, say, one hundred carefully chosen items. The investigator then obtains the nearest equivalent to each English word in each of the languages to be investigated. There are statistical methods, not too complicated, for determining the degree of similarity between any two word lists.

6. What factors contribute most to success in learning a given language?

Rather complicated procedures are required to attempt an over-all answer. Tests must usually be administered to determine the achievement of the subjects. Then questionnaires must be answered by the subjects, and sometimes also by their teachers and parents. Co-variance analysis is necessary to determine the correlation between achievement scores and other variables, and this requires the aid of a computer. However, the problem can often be simplified to make it more manageable. For example, if the achievement ratings of a given group of subjects are already available, a very simple questionnaire would suffice for obtaining data on a small number of other particularly interesting variables such as socio-economic status of parents, student attitudes toward the language, and teacher attitudes toward the students.

7. Are the official textbooks for teaching English or another language adequate?

The problem could probably best be approached through a critical analysis of the texts. Attention could be focused on such elements as methodological soundness, coverage of English structures, and the extent to which the books are addressed to the specific needs and interests of this body of students. The evaluation could be made more accurate if it were possible to obtain teacher and student reactions to the texts through questionnaires.

8. What is the current language policy of a given country, and how did present policies come to be adopted?

Easily accessible information on this subject is rarely available. To dig it out usually requires correspondence with ministries and a vigorous search for documents. Of particular value are official syllabi, ministerial reports, the reports of investigative commissions, teachers' publications, articles written by visiting expatriates, newspaper articles on language questions, the introductions of widely used textbooks, etc. The methods of investigation to be used are, of course, those of the historian.

Evelyn Hatch: Classroom Research

A large number of classroom studies have tested the effect of various treatments on the performance of second language learners. Because it is so difficult to control all the variables (e.g. matched I.Q., aptitude, sex, age of subject groups or matched attitudes, training, age, sex, ethnic background of teachers), the data from such experiments are difficult to interpret. Such studies have covered a wide area; for example:

Audiolingual approach vs. a variety of other approaches
Trained ESL teachers vs. regular classroom teachers
Teacher vs. filmstrips, TV, self-instruction programs
Visuals (flashcards, filmstrips, etc.) vs. no visual aids
Language labs of various types vs. other types of labs or no lab
Listening training vs. no planned listening practice
Intensive programs vs. regular programs
Delayed reading programs vs. simultaneous introduction of all skills

If you find these broad topics interesting or to read about research in teaching languages other than English, consult:

H.E. Nostrand. Research on Language Teaching
LLBA (Language & Language Behavior Abstracts)
Psychology Abstracts
ERIC--special clearinghouses for bilingual education and inner city as well as the large monthly catalogue.

Some possible cleaner questions which could be handled experimentally or otherwise with the subject groups available in this area are:

Reading

1. Revise the Goodman scale of reading miscues for Black, Mexican-American or Navajo children.
2. Analyze reading miscues of 1st and 2nd grade Black, Mexican-American or Navajo children using the revised scale.
3. Replicate Serpell's study on reading problems caused by 1st language phonological interference with 5th, 6th or junior high Mexican-American or Navajo children or with English 832 students.
4. On the basis of 1, 2, and 3, plan an information program (slides plus cartridge narration) as a teacher-training package for teachers of Black, Mexican-American or Navajo children.
5. Investigate stress vs. other factors in acoustical scanning in silent reading as a follow-up to Pamela Polin's study, "Reading Attention Focus of Foreign Students".
6. Write a literature review of available speed reading tests with and without comprehension measures. Design a test for 2nd language learners with forms for junior high, secondary and university levels.

7. Design and run experiments in increasing reading speed while retaining comprehension with UCLA foreign students or with junior high or high school Black, Mexican-American or Navajo children. (See Plaister for possible treatments.)

Oral

1. Replicate Briere's pilot study that focus on two central pronunciation problems results in improvement in all pronunciation areas with 103J students.
2. Replicate Shriner's study (morphology) with Black, Mexican-American or Navajo students.
3. Replicate Burns study (question formation) with Black, Mexican-American or Navajo students.
4. Replicate memory span tests with bilingual children.
5. Examine private speech ratios of bilingual children (preschool up to 3rd grade).

Composition

1. Revise Knapp scale for a variety of language groups showing in what sequence grammatical errors should be graded (for use in 33C and 106J).
2. Using Dykstra, Robinson, McIntosh, Rand and other articles on controlled composition, set up a sequence to be followed (a la Ananse Tales) for Black, Mexican-American, or Navajo students.
3. Using appropriate stories (shown to be popular with ethnic group) write a booklet for controlled composition for 4th, 5th, 6th or junior high students of one of these three groups.

If you have classrooms and control groups, you might want to work out a careful design to evaluate almost any type of material. For example, a group of grad students might decide to do composition topics 2 and 3 plus an evaluation of the materials in the classroom. Other questions which can be answered in the classroom are:

1. Does practice in sentence simplification and recombination (Rand) result in: a larger variety of sentence structure usage/overall improvement in composition skills?
2. Does practice with diminishing cues (frames) result in: a larger variety of sentence structure usage/overall improvement in composition?
3. Does use of topical materials (Newsweek, etc.) meet the objectives of 33C as well as/better than a variety of reading books specifically written for ESL?
4. Do Mexican-American, Navajo, or Black children read "better" if materials are concerned with ethnic heroes, etc. (See Vera John's study.)

Russell N. Campbell: The Role of Attitude in Second Language Acquisition

Definition

Integrative orientation. "...a desire or willingness to learn more about the other cultural community as if he desired to become a potential member of the other group!" (Lambert '63)

Questions related to students

1. What is the degree of integrative orientation of (age), (ethnic-group) students, in (area-schools) toward speakers (any; male, female; dialect A, B, C; etc.) of (English; dialect A, B, C, etc.)?
2. What are the correlations of degree of integrative orientation with

success in acquisition of native (or standard) speaker competence in (pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, reading, writing)?

Questions related to teachers

3. What stereotypes are held by (Anglo, Navajo, Black, Mexican-American, etc.) teachers of (Navajo, Black, Mexican-American, etc.) students?
4. What are the correlations of stereotypes held by the teacher to student success in acquisition of native (standard) speaker competence in (pronunciation, grammar, etc.)?

Question related to the total scholastic environment

5. What factors in the controllable (by educators) environment are responsible for the (a) development or (b) deterioration of an integrative orientation and how could they be either enhanced (for a) or counterbalanced (for b)? Factors: family, peer groups, texts, teacher, teacher-aid, administrators.

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John Oller: Topics Related to FL Testing

(1) Testing FL aptitude. There are currently a number of tests for adult FL aptitude, none to my knowledge for children.
  - a) Question: What do we mean by the term "aptitude"?
  - b) Question: What do we mean by "knowing a language" (presumably the result of learning which is in turn dependent on aptitude)?
  - c) Question: What do we mean by the term "child's aptitude for learning an FL" as opposed to "adult's aptitude for learning an FL"?

(2) Testing FL proficiency. There are numerous tests which purport to measure FL proficiency. These include as a subset achievement tests which are designed to measure specific skills in the classroom.

a) Question: What do we mean by the term "FL proficiency" ("knowing a language")?

b) Question: What do we mean by "native language proficiency"?

c) Question: Do discrete-point tests constitute adequately valid measures of FL proficiency?

(3) Listening tests.

Question: How well does the student understand fluent speech?

Possible tests:

1. Play a dialogue on a tape then have the student answer questions on the content.
2. Ask the student to respond appropriately to commands or instructions.
3. Have the student repeat sentences that he hears immediately. (an error analysis here should be quite interesting and revealing).
4. Have the student re-tell a story, or recount a conversation, etc.
5. Have the student translate into his own language.
6. Have the student write down what he hears.
7. Repeat any of the above under noisy conditions (where the noise is quantifiable).

Questions: (Both theoretical and experimental)

- i. How long does the dialogue need to be?
- ii. How well does response to commands correlate with ability to understand spoken language in general?
- iii. How well does ability to repeat sentences verbatim correlate with listening comprehension in general?
- iv. How well does dictation correlate with listening comprehension in general?
- v. Do native speakers perform flawlessly, or nearly so, on all of the above tests? If not, what explanation can be given? Are we really testing listening comprehension or something else?
- vi. Is speed of presentation a significant variable in the performance of natives? Non-natives? Explain any difference.
- vii. What is the optimal interval for dictation? Optimal length of sequence without pause? Or does it make a significant difference so long as the student has sufficient time to write what he hears?
- viii. How many times can a dictation be repeated without detracting from its validity and reliability?

(4) Speaking tests.

Question: How fluently and understandably (intelligibly) does the student speak the language in question?

Possible tests.

1. Have the student carry on a free conversation with a native.
2. Have the student carry on a directed conversation with a native. (With the native asking questions of a pre-planned content).
3. Have the student re-tell a story which he has just heard.
4. Describe a pictured situation, or series of them.

5. Discuss an interesting personal experience.
6. Performing in a simulated communicative situation, e.g., answering a telephone, and carrying on a conversation.

Questions: (Experimental and theoretical)

i. Can free conversation be judged reliably by different judges?
ii. Is subject performance reliable (i.e., consistent on different occasions)?
iii. What does a comparison of each of the above testing techniques reveal?
iv. What is the most valid and reliable method of judging spoken output?

(5) Reading tests.

Question: How well does the student understand what he reads?

Possible tests:

1. Reading selection plus questions.
2. Read a paragraph and state (or select from several alternatives) the central idea.
3. Read a selection and re-tell its content.
4. Paraphrase sentences (can be done as multiple choice).
5. Response to written instructions.
6. Translation.
7. Repeat any of the above under noise (?).

Question: (Note that these parallel the questions asked concerning listening comprehension tests.)

i. How long does the reading selection have to be?
ii. (See (3) ii above)
iii. (See (3) v above, native speaker performance)
iv. How does performance on the various types of activities correlate?

(6) Writing tests.

Possible tests.

1. Free composition.
2. Directed composition. (Relating a pre-specified content.)
3. Dictation.
4. Fill-in blank or sentence completion.
5. Selection of appropriate item sequence.

Questions:

i. Are judgments of free composition reliable? (Investigate possibilities of improved techniques, both theoretically and experimentally.)
ii. Are inter-subject scores comparable?
iii. Compare different testing devices.

It should be clear at this point, that significant questions related to the testing of FL proficiency are practically innumerable. The discussion given here is extremely sketchy, but perhaps it will suggest some possible topics for MA research.

Lois McIntosh: Questions about Usage and Register in American English

The teacher of English as a Second Language needs to be able to cope with the unexpected. He can avert questions beginning WHY by answering with examples of HOW. But when the question becomes HOW and WHEN, he reaches into his "native speaker's intuition" for answers that sometimes mystify the learner.

The usage of American English cannot be completely explained by the trees of transformational analysis, and it is this area that we must teach in our classrooms.

1. In preparing university students to join the mainstream, do we know what problems they will encounter in their texts?
   What sentences will they meet? Of what length, or what complexity?
   Will a study of the number and kind of embeddings help the student?
   Is there a lexical bias in a given discipline?
   Is there a particular use of Modal?
2. What register are the lectures of a given discipline in? What are the earmarks of that register? Can we catalogue, sequence, and expose the student to some of this in our classes?
3. How much do we really know about the current status of aspective function in the verb system?
   I just ate vs. I've just eaten
   I hadn't realized vs. I didn't realize.
   Is it possible to limit and separate and sequence the occurrences, so that the second language learner will not continue to confuse them?
4. Is it enough to talk about locative or do we need to examine further our assumptions of in, on, at
   He's at the game; he's in the game. He's in the stands at the game.
   He's at the library; he's in the library
5. Is everything clear and well described about negation in English?
   Is there a difference in He's not here; he isn't here.
   Which comes first? What separates them?
   Are there describable and predictable sets exemplified by...
   He didn't miss much/he didn't miss by much
   Is there a layer of hesitation and indirection in English indicated by negation:
   Would you vs. wouldn't you....like some coffee
   In invitational contexts:
   See if you can help me vs. See if you can't help me
   Or the lexical set:
   He's kind...he's unkind
   He's not unkind
6. Must is in a state of transition
   What in the spoken language is becoming of must?
   Has it been totally replaced by have to, have got to (gotta)?
   If so, what has happened to must not?
   Is the cataloguing of modals in terms of necessity, obligation, etc., current as far as the spoken language of 1969 shows it?

Paul Schachter: Some Model Topics in the Area of Contrastive Analysis

1. A Framework for Comparing Transformational Analyses (Distinctive-Feature Analyses/Tagmemic Analyses/...)
   A study of the implications for contrastive analysis of some particular linguistic theory, aimed at developing a framework for comparing and contrasting descriptions of different languages based upon this theory.

2. Relativization (Comparison/Imperatives/...): General vs. Language-Specific Properties

   An investigation of a major type of syntactic structure in a number of languages, aimed at identifying the common properties of the structures in all the languages, and distinguishing these from the properties that may vary from language to language.
3. Conjunction (Nominalization/Complementation/...) in X and English

   A description of the similarities and differences between language X and English with respect to a major type of syntactic structure, aimed at pinpointing the difficulties the English structure poses for speakers of X.
4. The Expression of Emphasis (Negation/Aspect/...) in X and English

   An investigation of the grammatical structures associated with some major semantic area in language X and English, aimed at pinpointing the difficulties the English structures pose for speakers of X.
5. The Vowel System (Consonant System/Intonation System/...) of X and English.

   An analysis of some major area of the phonological system of language X and English, aimed at pinpointing the difficulties the English system poses for speakers of X.

Peter Ladefoged: Research Projects in Phonetics and Phonemics in Second Language Learning

1. Rhythmic differences between languages:

   Native speakers of English find it easy to tap on stressed syllables; Frenchmen speaking English do not. On which syllables can they tap most reliably? (Experimental procedures for this type of experiment fully described by George Allen in Working Papers in Phonetics 14.)
2. Analysis of mistakes made by non-English speakers in saying /θ/:

   Why do the French say /s/, Hindis say /ṭ/, but substandard (Cockney) speakers say /f/? Do Hindi speakers begin by having /s/ as the wrong form, then change to making /ṭ/ as the error? [Suggested by Dr. Srivastavar] (Mainly a corpus collection procedural problem)
3. Stages in learning the pronunciation of English:

   Take a monolingual speaker of Spanish and get him to say a sentence in English, purely by imitation. Next get a Spanish speaker learning English and get him to say the same sentence. Finally observe the sentence as spoken by a native English speaker. A technique of this kind might be used to identify stages in learning pronunciation.
4. The carryover of higher-level phonological units:

   In Russian there is an anticipatory voicing, the last segment of a word becoming voiced if the first segment of the next word is voiced. To what extent is this found among Russian learners of English?

[Note: The usual form of a scientific paper is (1) Introductory statement of the problem, (2) Experimental procedure, (3) Results, (4) Discussion.

Note that (1) and (2) should be written up before doing any experimental work. Many people like to write up (3) before doing the experiment, leaving blanks for the actual numbers.]

Bradford Arthur: Research Areas in Second Dialect Teaching

I. "Teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect"
  A. What is Standard English?
  B. What about it should be taught?
II. Information needed to answer questions IA and B:
  A. Non-linguistic (moral, practical, political)
  B. Linguistic
    1. Dialect structure of speech community
      a. linguistic structure of dialects
      b. attitudes towards dialects
        --Mapping of language attitudes within a speech community
      c. degree and type of divergence
        --The status of Mexican-American English as an independent dialect
    2. A theory of second dialect acquisition
      --The effects of degree of linguistic similarity on ease of second-dialect acquisition
    3. A theory of language attitudes
      --The development of language-related attitudes in school-age children
III. Teaching procedures and materials
  A. Teaching and maintaining dialect separation
    --The effectiveness of role-playing in teaching the perception of dialect separation
  B. Creating and changing attitudes toward dialects
    --An evaluation of the LA attitude change programs
  C. Teaching reading
    --The effectiveness of phonic approach to word recognition for speakers of NNE.
  D. Teaching writing
    --A list of regular spellings in NNE.

Robert Wilson: Topics on Bilingualism

1. The relationship of language to intelligence.
  Subjects: Upper elementary or through high school.
  Selection: Their voices on tape, talking about some general subject, e.g., basketball, dating, Vietnam. Ask teachers to identify those who speak "good" English in the sense that they would not hesitate to put the selected students in an Anglo classroom.
  Analysis: Give the selected students standardized I.Q. tests in English and in Spanish (first language).

Prediction: Subjects will still do better in the Spanish version of the test.

Variation: Make the Spanish version different by translating only the instructions.

2. Triggering phonological competence.

Subjects: Students who speak with an accent, yet have gone to school for at least five years, have T.V. in their homes, are middle class in the sense that father has a steady job and does not wish he could go back home to his country.

Procedure: Through dramatization (i.e., role playing) teach the students that cultural behavior is a part to be played: "Imagine you're an American astronaut."

Initial concept is that of name-switching: pronouncing one's name using the Spanish phonological system one time, the English system the other. If the experiment is short, test to see if the students will adopt a role given an overt cue, like a role in a play, then mark for accent, or lack of. If the experiment is long, test to see if there is transfer when he talks with the experimenter's companion in English.

3. Determining the linguistic goals of preschool and kindergarten.

Other-language children are sometimes given two years (half-day schedule) of schooling before entering first grade, at which time, it is hoped, they will be able to communicate well enough to function in the first grade. This means, at least, that the child should be able to understand his teacher. It would be interesting to find out the level of language a teacher of first grade uses. A few days' tapes and observations in her class should give you a sample of the structures she uses, and a look at her year's syllabi will give you a sample of at least the assumed vocabulary, e.g., colors, directions, etc. Your organization of this data would constitute the appropriate linguistic objectives of preschool and kindergarten for these other-language students.

John F. Povey: Topics Concerning Literature

This is largely a virgin field. So far as I know nothing of great moment has been published on this subject--perhaps because there is nothing to say...bibliographies will be brief except that we should be aware of the studies made of teaching literature in various foreign language or native speaking situations in order to assess their relevance to the ESL problems faced by teachers.

Fundamentally--if negatively--the subject should not be appropriate for an ordinary MA in English literature, i.e. formal critical analysis or discussions of genre and themes not related in some specific way to the ESL teaching situation would not be acceptable.

One significant element of this area is that it may be undertaken as a library study, i.e. it requires rather reading and thought than prior experience even though the teaching knowledge may well modify the theories advanced.

Possible areas

a. Language. Direct linguistic analysis of diction--perhaps moving towards stylistics. What language factors mark a style? Consideration of appropriateness of style and registers (conceiving literature to be evidence of a variety of language usage). Similar studies directed particularly at a second language literature--or particular work. What are the influences on the language of this creative writing? What distinctions are apparent between this writing and accepted American diction. How does, say a paragraph or chapter, of a Philipino novel differ from an American one? What are the sources of this language change (presumably requires knowledge of the writer's first language).

b. The cultural dimension. What are the elements of culture within a work? What cultural assumptions are being made by a writer? To what extent is a work (any work) linked in to its writer's or reader's culture? How vital is cultural understanding to the significance of a work? Distinguish between universal and specific elements in a plot.

c. Teaching. Consider along lines above.
   - i. Linguistic problems in literature. What is the basis to establish a hierarchy of difficulty in readings? Is it the same as the expected vocabulary familiarity and syntax complexity?
   - ii. Similarly for culture in literature. What constitutes a cultural difficulty? How can these elements be taught--by transformation into a more familiar equivalent situation? By anthropological explication? By stressing the actual context? Lesson plans which discuss the theories suggested.

d. Special problems.
   - i. Basic purpose of literature teaching (consider this in terms of possible differences of intention between English departments and ESL programs).
   - ii. Does formal English literature have any place in an ESL program? What theoretical justifications can be offered? How about any local literature in English?
   - iii. Arguments about procedure. Does one move from the most familiar, i.e. the most general and universal to the specific? Does one argue the necessity of teaching American culture requires that one approach the most formidable, most American topics, head on?
   - iv. Historical studies of English literature curriculum, their assumptions and success--or otherwise.
   - v. Choice of material for a class--set up a series of standards, linguistic and practical. Analyse specific texts, etc.

Specific MATESL topics in the area of Literature--all implicit in the generalizations above.

The role of English literature in ESL

a. Theorizing about the general utility. Literature (or one or two works) as a vehicle for the teaching of culture.

b. Syllabus analysis, either of a national existing syllabus--i.e. a critical study of say the Cambridge certificate, or of a national curriculum. Improvements and developments based upon rational theory rather than historical tradition.

c. As a means of teaching language. What is to be taught and how?

d. Studies of a work of second language English usage, e.g. a Ghanaian novel--its linguistic implications or its value in teaching a class.

e. Make the brash assumption that a certain work HAS to (or at least should) be taught. How to go about it. Preparation of vocabulary and syntax. Pre-studies in cultural attitudes, i.e. a class plan.

Experimental studies:

a. Studies in teaching literature under measured controlled conditions, e.g. where there has been prior discussion of the themes or the cultural background or where it is assumed it will be comprehended within the development of the work--measure degree of understanding.

b. Cross checks between different nationalities or races in estimating the areas of likely major difficulty through cultural or linguistic difference.

c. Reworking of a work or part of one into material suitable for differing grades and levels, i.e. attempts at simplification and translation.

Proposed Modification of the TESL Certificate and M.A. Programs to Provide for Specialization in the Teaching of English to Disadvantaged Groups in American Schools

Clifford H. Prator

Background and Need

It is hardly necessary to insist on the great current relevancy of efforts to improve the quality of the education offered to disadvantaged children in the American schools. As the difficulties that hinder the progress of such children have been studied, it has become more and more apparent that much of their lack of success is due to faulty communication between teachers and pupils and to the inability of the pupils to achieve their full potential through the medium of Standard English.

Particularly in the case of Negro children of lower socio-economic status, the acquisition of so-called Standard English seems to have been inhibited by lack of motivation or even by negative motivation. To put it bluntly, the black child often sees very little reason why he should learn Whitey's language. He is even less inclined to make the very great effort needed to learn it if Standard English is presented to him as the only respectable form of the language and if his own dialect of English is treated as a more ignorant corruption of standards, a formless congeries of errors that should be eliminated as soon as possible. Unfortunately, this has usually been the way English has been presented to him in the past.

The term "Standard English as a Second Dialect" (or SESD) has recently come into wide use as a label for a new point of view toward English instruction for disadvantaged black children. The SESD concept is based on the research of social dialectologists such as William Labov, Roger Shuy, and William Stewart, who have revealed the systematic nature of Negro speech in New York, Detroit, Chicago, Washington, and other American urban areas. These investigators and their disciples have not only shown that there are widespread and orderly grammatical, phonological, and lexical features which characterize much "Black English", but have also cast new light on the dialectal divergence that exists within what is accepted as Standard English.

Educators have begun to ask if it might not be desirable to incorporate the dialectologists' objectivity in the English instruction offered to the disadvantaged Negro child. Both the black and the white varieties of English would be analyzed as what they really are: legitimate, stable dialects of a single language, each with its own linguistic structure and its own area of special usefulness. The child would not be asked to discard his own dialect but encouraged to become bi-dialectal. Hopefully, he would acquire the ability to switch codes instinctively so as to use the most effective idiom in any given situation.

It is obvious that the techniques and materials needed for teaching Standard English as a second dialect would bear some resemblance to those already developed for teaching English as a second language. Both types of instruction demand of the teacher the same kind of insights into the nature of language and language learning, and the contrastive analysis of two linguistic systems seems to be basic to both. In California schools a single teacher must often work with immigrant children (TESL) and Negro children (SESD) in the same classroom. So far it has been the specialists in TESL who have taken the lead in developing the SESD concept. There is thus strong justification for including an optional SESD component within a program designed to prepare specialists in TESL.

On the other hand, the two types of language instruction certainly differ significantly. SESD appears to involve problems of motivation that rarely present themselves in TESL. Both types demand that a gap between teacher and pupils be bridged, but in SESD the gap is primarily psychological and sociological, whereas in TESL it is mostly cultural and linguistic. The most disadvantaged Negro children usually have at least a passive knowledge of the language to be taught, Standard English, which is far more extensive than that normally possessed by children who have just arrived from a non-English-speaking country. The major skills to be cultivated in the case of the former are probably reading and written composition; the latter need prolonged drill in the skills of oral production. The reading materials most suitable for Negro children would rarely be appropriate in TESL work.

There are still other types of English teaching that appear to fall somewhere in between SESD and TESL. For example, a Mexican-American child living in an East Los Angeles barrio may fall victim to much the same social, economic, and psychological forces that handicap a black child, and the two may develop the same negative attitudes toward Standard English and school. Yet the linguistic problems faced by the Mexican-American may be practically identical to those of a Spanish child learning English in Andalusia. Obviously, the language instruction to be given in the bilingual-education programs that are beginning to be established all over the United States will involve a whole new set of special methodological and psychological considerations.

The demand for teachers with training in the teaching of English to disadvantaged groups has mushroomed almost overnight. The UCLA Department of English had its first experience with that type of instruction in 1965-66, when it successfully sponsored several experimental classes for the employee-upgrading program of the University Personnel Office. In 1968 the Department began offering a course in "The Teaching of Standard English as a Second Dialect", English 375K, which is now being taught for the third time. That the course is meeting a real need is attested by the substantial enrollments it has attracted. During the past year quite a number of the candidates for the TESL Certificate, including several of those involved in planning and teaching the English classes organized for the University's High-Potential Programs, have urged the desirability of rethinking the entire TESL curriculum so as to provide more adequately for the concerns of language teachers with a special interest in disadvantaged groups.

In the school systems of most large American cities, experimental SESD work--often financed by special grants of federal, state, or foundation funds--is now being carried out. Under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended in 1967, the U.S. Office of Education is now subsidizing school districts all over the United States that wish to experiment with bilingual-education programs involving some use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction and special approaches to the teaching of English. Groups such as the National Council of Teachers of English, the National Advisory Council on the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language, and Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages have devoted a considerable proportion of their most recent meetings to the reading of papers on English for disadvantaged groups. The bibliography of the subject is already quite impressive. Complete curricula for preparing specialists are already in operation at a number of universities, notably Columbia, Georgetown, and N.Y.U. It is evident that UCLA must move in the same direction if the University's programs for teachers of English are to retain their present preeminent position.

Proposed Changes in the Certificate Program

As approved by the Academic Senate, the curriculum leading to the Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Second Language includes nine courses:

1. English 370K, The Teaching of English as a Second Language (Bibliography, survey, and evaluation of methods and materials. The nature of language learning. Analysis of the differences between two languages as a basis of instruction.)
2. Linguistics 100, Introduction to Linguistics (A beginning course in the descriptive and historical study of language: linguistic analysis; linguistic structures; language classification; language families of the world; language in its social and cultural setting.)
3. English 122, The Structure of Modern American English (A general description of the English language as it is currently used in North America, and study of the developments which have led to distinctive American characteristics.)
4. English 250K, Seminar in the Contrastive Analysis of English and Other Languages (Theory and techniques of contrasting the phonological, grammatical, and lexical structures of English with those of other languages.)
5. Linguistics 103, Introduction to General Phonetics (The phonetics of a variety of languages and the phonetic phenomena that occur in languages of the world. Extensive practice in the perception and production of such phenomena. A special section emphasizes those languages likely to be of interest to teachers of English as a Second Language.)
6. English 106K, Advanced Composition for Teachers of English as a Second Language (Elements of English grammar as related to classroom instruction. Compositions based on the contrastive analysis of American and other cultures.)
7. English 380K, Supervised Teaching of English as a Second Language (Team teaching at the elementary, secondary, or adult level under the supervision of a senior staff member.)
8. and 9. Electives. For students whose mother tongue is a language other than English, a wide choice of related departmental and non-departmental electives is available. Native speakers of English--who now constitute the great majority of students enrolled in the TESL programs, and who will presumably provide most of those interested in specialization in English for disadvantaged groups--are at present required to take two courses in "the native language of the pupils to whom they expect to teach English; when there is doubt which foreign language will be most appropriate, a non-European tongue should be selected because of the greater broadening of horizons that such a selection affords".

If the relevance of each of these courses to English for the disadvantaged is examined, it becomes obvious that some of the nine are perfectly suitable as they stand, that others need modification, and that at least two--the foreign-language electives--are largely irrelevant, at least for teachers of SESD.

English 370K seems relevant as it stands. Since teachers of SESD will usually have in practice to deal also with pupils for whom TESL is the proper approach, they should understand the similarities and differences between the two methodologies as clearly as possible.

Linguistics 100, a prerequisite for all other courses in linguistics, appears equally valuable for specialists in ordinary TESL and in English for the disadvantaged. Perhaps in the future the course should include a brief introduction to dialectology.

English 122 also should be of equal value for the two groups.

English 250K is conducted as a series of individual projects; each student contrasts some feature of the English language with the nearest corresponding feature of another language and tries to apply the results to actual classroom instruction. In the case of prospective teachers of SESD, the contrastive analysis would be done in terms of Afro-American English and Standard English, or in terms of the corresponding cultures. Henceforth, all students specializing in English for the disadvantaged would be put together in one of the four sections of 250K so as to give them a more concentrated diet of appropriate reports.

Some material on the phonetics of "Black English" should be included in Linguistics 103, which is otherwise quite relevant to English for the disadvantaged as it is now given.

One section of English 106K would also be set aside for specialists in English for the disadvantaged. Because of the experience this course gives in methods of teaching composition, it may be even more valuable for such specialists than for other students of TESL, particularly if the compositions written in the special section are based on reading materials dealing with the backgrounds from which disadvantaged children come. Some students are exempted from 106K on the basis of a proficiency examination in English composition, and those so exempted are allowed an unrestricted elective. Exempted specialists in English for the disadvantaged would elect such courses as the Department's course in "black literature" (one of the versions in which English 70, Contemporary Themes in British and American Literature, is now given); English 109K, The Teaching of Literature in a Second-Language Situation; English 114, Survey of African Literature in English; Education 102, Education of the Mexican-American Child: Sociology 124, Ethnic and Status Groups; Sociology 155, Intergroup Conflict and Prejudice; Anthropology 106, Peoples of California; or Anthropology 167, Afro-American Culture.

Specialists in English for the disadvantaged taking English 380K would do their supervised teaching in classes that included a high proportion of minority-group students. Perhaps they could participate in, or at least observe, the instruction in English given to black and brown students admitted to UCLA under the University's High-Potential Program.

As has already been pointed out, the two foreign-language courses now required of Certificate candidates are largely irrelevant to the needs of a teacher who expects to work mostly with Negro children. Also, certain prescribed combinations of courses would seem to be of more value than courses in just any foreign language to a teacher primarily concerned with Mexican-American or Navajo children. It is therefore proposed that specialists in English for the disadvantaged be asked to fulfill the foreign-language requirement in one of several different specified ways.

Whatever particular minority group they were most interested in, they would all take one key course in common: English 275, Teaching English to Minority Groups. English 275 is proposed as a new course, in spite of the fact that it overlaps slightly with English 375K, the already existing course in the Teaching of Standard English as a Second Dialect. The reasons why 375K is inadequate for Certificate and M.A. candidates who want to specialize in English for the disadvantaged are explained in the attached Request for Approval of 275. The new 275 would differ from 375K chiefly in that it would be taught at a more advanced level, would deal only with the non-linguistic aspects of teaching English to minority groups, and would consider the special needs of other groups as well as of Blacks.

The linguistic aspects of such teaching would, of course, vary from one minority group to another. Candidates particularly interested in Negro children would therefore be required to take another new course, English 123, Afro-American English, described as "a detailed study, involving the analysis of tapes and documents, of the characteristics of urban Afro-American speech and writing" (see attached Request for Approval of English 123). Candidates concerned with Mexican-Americans would take an appropriate course in Spanish, preferably Spanish 100, 103, 206, or 209. Those concerned with Oriental Americans would take the most appropriate course in Chinese or Japanese (perhaps Oriental Languages 175A or B), and perhaps those concerned with American Indians could arrange a Linguistics or Anthropology 199 course in such a language as Navajo.*

Proposed Changes in the M.A. Program

At present the Certificate program constitutes the first year of the curriculum leading to the M.A. in TESL, and a student must complete the former with a grade-point average of 3.25 or better in order to be admitted as a candidate for the latter. Four of the Certificate courses (Linguistics 100, English 103K or Linguistics 103, English 122, and English 250K) are counted among the nine courses required for the M.A. During his second year, then, the student takes five more courses, at least four of which must be graduate-level courses in the 200 or 500 series:

1. English 213, an advanced seminar in the structure of modern American English.

2, 3, and 4. Three courses relevant to one of several available areas of specialization.

5. English 598K, an individual-study course designed to help students plan and write their thesis.

The thesis involves carrying out an acceptable piece of original research in the chosen area of specialization.

"English for minority groups and dialectology" is already approved as one of the areas of specialization, but the present course offering is not fully adequate. Available courses with some degree of relevancy include:

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*Since the language needs of the different types of candidates for the Certificate in TESL vary considerably, even more flexibility in the foreign-language requirement would be highly desirable. For example, because most African languages are much less widely spoken than European languages, students who plan to teach in Africa would probably be best served by a combination of one language course plus a typological course dealing with other languages of the same family (such as Linguistics 220A). Another element of the problem with regard to the present foreign-language requirement is explained in the Request for Approval of English 111K. Though this Request has no direct connection with English for the disadvantaged, it is also attached here so that all the changes proposed in the TESL curricula for 1970-71 can be considered at the same time.

English 240, Phonological Structures and Dialectology, which is primarily historical and geographical in its orientation and requires prior knowledge of the history of the English language.

English 251K, Seminar in Bilingual Comparative Studies (The relationship of two languages in an incipient bilingual speaker. Further study of the techniques of contrastive analysis as a means of predicting interference between linguistic systems, with application to original research projects.)

English 270K, Seminar in the Social and Educational Role of English as a Second Language (Use of and need for English as correlated with social structure of countries such as the United States, Nigeria, and the Philippines; factors affecting language policy in their school systems; applicability of research techniques of socio- and psycholinguistics to problems of language policy.)

Linguistics 170, Language and Society: Introduction to Sociolinguistics (Study of the patterned covariation of language and society; social dialects and social styles in language; problems of multilingual societies.)

Linguistics 215, Dialectology and Linguistic Geography (A survey of current trends and modern methods used in structural dialectology and areal linguistics. [Illustrative material from a variety of languages not necessarily including English]. Prerequisite: Linguistics 120, Linguistic Analysis.)

Linguistics 265B. Seminar in Sociolinguistics, for which Linguistics 170 is a prerequisite and which presumably covers much the same ground as 170 though at a more advanced level.

Anthropology 205, North American Indians (Survey of the literature and problems of the American Indians north of Mexico.)

It would seem that the two most important lacunae are in the areas of social dialectology and of literary instruction.

The Department of Linguistics plans to propose a new course for 1970-71 that would take care of the first need. In effect, the existing Linguistics 215 would be split into two courses: 215A, Areal Dialectology; and 215B, Social Dialectology (see attached Request for Approval). 215B would deal with the kind of work now being done by such scholars as William Labov in the covariation of American English and urban social classes. It is understood that TESL students who had completed the Certificate year (including Linguistics 100 and 103, as well as English 122, 123, 250K, 275, and 370K) would be admitted to Linguistics 215B without other prerequisites.

It is hoped that the Department of English, as part of its plan for reorganizing the Plan-A M.A. in English, will propose another new course that would take care of the second need. This might well take the form of a graduate-level seminar for prospective teachers, with some such title as Current Issues in the Teaching of English, and a number such as 272. The seminar might be given in several different versions, each version dealing with a different topic, and the topics themselves would need to be changed from time to time. Examples of appropriate topics might be "The Mass Media and the Teaching of Literature," "Linguistics and the Study of Literature," and "Doctrines of English Usage." An especially relevant topic for TESL students interested in English for the disadvantaged would be "Selecting Reading Materials for Disadvantaged Youth."

With the addition of these two new courses, Linguistics 215A and English 272 (?), it should be possible to plan well-rounded study programs that would meet the individual needs and fit the circumstances of a wide variety of TESL students. If a student already knew at the beginning of his Certificate year what he wanted to do, he could take courses that would constitute a very substantial specialization in a particular minority group. Or he could focus his work more broadly on the instruction of minority groups in general. If he did not acquire his special interest until he had almost finished the Certificate Program, he could still develop a lesser degree of specialization during his M.A. year.

For example, a study program such as the following would be available for a student who knew at the beginning of the Certificate year that he was particularly interested in Mexican-Americans (the courses that would constitute the M.A. are marked with an *):

First Year

1. English 370K, The Teaching of English as a Second Language
*2. Linguistics 100, Introduction to Linguistics
*3. English 122, The Structure of Modern American English
*4. English 250K, Contrastive Analysis of English and Other Languages
*5. Linguistics 103, Introduction to General Phonetics
6. English 106K, Advanced Composition; or Education 102, Education of the Mexican-American Child
7. English 380K, Supervised Teaching
8. English 275, Teaching English to Minority Groups
9. Practical course in Spanish; or Spanish 103, Morphology and Syntax

Second Year

*1. English 213, Advanced Seminar in Structure of Modern American English
*2. English 251K, Seminar in Bilingual Comparative Studies
*3. English 272, Current Issues in the Teaching of English (Selecting Reading Material for Disadvantaged Youth)
*4. Spanish 206, Linguistics (of Spanish)
*5. English 598K, Individual Study for Thesis

A student who made a late decision to learn as much as he could about SESD could still include in his second year's program English 123, Afro-American English; English 275, Teaching English to Minority Groups; and English 272, Current Issues in the Teaching of English, or Linguistics 215B, Social Dialectology. (His five graduate-level courses would then be English 213, 250K, 275, 598K, and 272 or Linguistics 215B.)

Implementation

It is hoped that all the modifications here proposed can be put into effect by 1970-71. Certain changes--such as those in Linguistics 100, English 250K, Linguistics 103, English 106K, and English 380K--can presumably be made in 1969-70 by mutual agreement and without formal action of any kind.

The new courses would be taught for the first time in 1970-71. Approval will be needed for English 123, 272, 275, and Linguistics 215B. Hopefully, approval can be secured at the same time for English 111K, though the latter is not directly related to English for the disadvantaged.

It is not clear just what approvals will be needed in order to liberalize the present foreign-language requirement for the TESL Certificate. The proposed new requirement would permit five options:

1. Two foreign-language courses (as at present)
2. One foreign-language course plus the corresponding typology
3. One foreign-language course plus English 275
4. English 123 plus English 275
5. English 111K plus an unrestricted elective

The version of English 70 devoted to "black literature" is not at present scheduled to be given beyond 1969-70, when it will be offered during the winter quarter only. Because it will obviously continue to be relevant, will be of great value to TESL students specializing in SESD, and may prove to be a key course in the Department's reorganized Plan-A M.A. program, consideration might be given to offering it every year, perhaps as an independent course in its own right. Very few TESL students will be able to take it unless it is scheduled for the spring quarter.

English

REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF A COURSE

111K Background Language for Teachers of English as a Second Language

4 units Fall Quarter Campbell or Hatch

Five hours of Lecture per week

Description: Beginning course in a non-Indo-European Language taught as a demonstration of recommended pedagogical techniques and designed to acquaint prospective language teachers with a wide variety of linguistic structures.

Prerequisites, etc: Fulfills the foreign-language requirement for the Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Second Language.

REMARKS:

For students whose mother tongue is English, the curriculum leading to the Certificate in Teaching English as a Second Language includes a requirement of two quarters of a "background" foreign language, preferably a non-Indo-European language. The requirement was originally justified on the grounds that the courses would: (1) broaden the students' linguistic horizons by familiarizing them with radically different types of linguistic structures; (2) give them a language to compare with English in their required course in "Contrastive Analysis of English and Other Languages"; (3) provide them with a new and effective language-learning experience during the period when they were developing their theoretical guidelines as language teachers; and (4) give them some useful practical command of the mother tongue of pupils who might eventually be enrolled in their English classes.

Until now Certificate candidates have fulfilled this language requirement by taking courses offered by the various departments on campus. Unfortunately, the results have been very uneven. Sometimes the benefits expected from such study seem to have been achieved. Very often, however, the "new and effective language-learning experience" has not been provided, the teaching methods have been questionable, and few accurate insights have been gained into new linguistic structures.

The course proposed here represents an attempt to make certain that our future teachers of English really do derive from their foreign-language work the benefits claimed for it. English 111K would be correlated as closely as possible with English 370K, the methodology course that the students would be taking simultaneously. Techniques advocated in 370K would be immediately demonstrated in 111K. We hope that English 111K, specially planned with the needs and abilities of our particular student group in mind, will permit achieving maximal results in a minimum of time.

Several members of the TESL staff would be well qualified to teach the new course, and the non-European-language taught would vary from year to year depending on the instructor chosen. Present possibilities include Russell

111K continued

Campbell (Thai), Evelyn Hatch (Egyptian Arabic), Robert Wilson (Tagalog), and Earl Rand (Mandarin Chinese).

If English 111K is approved, candidates for the Certificate in TESL will be allowed to fulfill their language requirement by taking English 111K plus an unrestricted elective. At present the Certificate program allows no free elective for students whose mother tongue is English. This is unfortunate, since several new courses have been created in recent years which it would be very desirable to include in individual cases: e.g., English 109K (The Teaching of Literature in a Second-Language Situation) and 261K (Language Testing for Teachers of English as a Second Language).

Linguistics

REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF A COURSE

215B Social Dialectology

1 course Once a year, any quarter Staff

Four hours lecture

Description: Theoretical and technical study of dialect variation in relation to social differences, primarily in America.

Prerequisites, etc: Courses 120A and 120B, or equivalent.

Change in existing course: Course to start in: Spring Quarter 1970

REMARKS:

Reason for change: We feel it is necessary to split course 215 into two courses, 215A and 215 B, because the huge increase in social dialect study in recent years has made it impossible to provide decent coverage of traditional dialect research and of social dialectology in a single one-quarter course. We recommend splitting along these horizontal vs. vertical dimensions.

Note on staffing: We would like to schedule 215B in the spring of 1970, to be offered by a visitor, Stanley Legum of the Southwest Regional Laboratories for Educational Development, one of the most active current researchers in the area of social stratification in American dialects. Next year, we will have brought a permanent appointment to UCLA for this work, in cooperation with the English Department, since the course is precisely within the special research of Roger Shuy who is being recruited by English and Linguistics.

English

REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF A COURSE

123 Afro-American English

4 Units Winter Quarter Mr. Arthur or new member of professorial staff, with assistance of an informant.

Four hours lecture per week

Description: A detailed study, involving the analysis of tapes and documents, of the characteristics of urban Afro-American speech and writing.

Prerequisites, etc.: English 120 or Linguistics 100; pre-or co-requisite, English 122 or the equivalent.

NEW Course Course to start in Winter Quarter 1971

REMARKS: The proposed course is intended primarily for candidates for the Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Second Language who are concerned with the linguistic needs of Negro children in American inner-city schools. For this group of candidates, English 123 will be accepted as fulfilling half of the two-course foreign-language requirement for the Certificate. The other half of the requirement will be fulfilled by another new course, English 275 (Teaching English to Minority Groups), which deals with the special cultural, social, psychological, and methodological considerations involved in the English instruction of children of minority groups (see attached request for approval of English 275).

English 123 would differ from Linguistics 2 (the recently established course in Linguistics and Minority Dialects) in four principal ways: (1) by its concentration on "Black English", (2) by the level of linguistic sophistication required of students, (3) by its emphasis on the actual analysis of documents, and (4) by its orientation toward teacher training.

English

REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF A COURSE

272 Current Issues in the Teaching of English. Seminar.

4 Units Spring Quarter Staff

4 hours lecture per week

Each time the course is given it will focus on one of a variety of topics that are of special current interest to teachers of English.

Prerequisites: English 120 or Linguistics 100.

NEW Course to start in Spring Quarter, 1971

The course would be taken primarily by candidates for the regular Plan-A M.A. in English or for the Certificate or M.A. in the Teaching of English as a Second Language. It would provide an opportunity, not now available, for such students to cap their training by carrying out an intensive study of one of the particularly relevant or controversial issues in the teaching of English.

It is hoped that a number of different staff members will take turns in teaching the course and that leading teacher-educators from other institutions can also be brought in from time to time to teach it.

In a given quarter a topic such as one of the following might be chosen for treatment:

Selecting Reading Material for Disadvantaged Youth
The Mass Media and the Teaching of Literature
Linguistics and the Study of Literature
Doctrines of English Usage

English

REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF A COURSE

275 Teaching English to Minority Groups

4 Units Fall Quarter Arthur, or new staff member,
with guest lecturers

4 hours lecture per week

The special cultural, social, psychological, and methodological considerations involved in the English instruction of minority groups in American schools and colleges.

Pre- or co-requisite English 120 or Linguistics 100.

NEW Course to start in Fall Quarter, 1970

The urgency of providing more effective instruction for members of minority groups in American schools and colleges seems self-evident. In many cases the most basic problem faced by such students is to learn to communicate adequately through the medium of Standard English. Most current English instruction fails to meet their specific linguistic needs and to take their different cultural backgrounds into account.

Two years ago the Committee on Courses approved the creation of English 375K, The Teaching of Standard English as a Second Dialect. The Catalogue describes 375K as: "Survey and evaluation of methods and bibliography of materials appropriate to subject. The nature of language learning, contrastive analysis, and dialect distribution and comparison." Since the approval of 375K, a great deal of theoretical and practical work has been done in the Teaching of Standard English as a Second Dialect (SESD). 375K has now been taught several times and has been found to provide an inadequate framework for covering SESD and related types of instruction at the level of sophistication needed by students who wish to specialize in that area as candidates for the Certificate or M.A. in the Teaching of English as a Second Language. 375K has no pre-requisites, attempts to deal with the linguistic as well as all other aspects of the subject, and considers the instruction of Negro children only.

English 275, the new course here proposed, would have as co-requisite an upper-division course in linguistics. It would aim at providing an understanding of the cultural backgrounds that distinguish Afro-American, Mexican-American, Oriental American, and American Indian students. It would deal with the social and economic factors that affect education in inner-city schools, on the reservation, and in college, as well as with attitudes toward the dominant elements of American society. It would consider wherein SESD methodology should differ from that appropriate for TESL, and the relationship of both to the language instruction that will be offered in the newly-authorized programs of bilingual education that are beginning to appear throughout the Southwest. It would pay particular attention to problems of motivation and to the teaching of reading and composition. It would deal only minimally with

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the linguistic considerations involved in teaching English to minority groups.

The latter would be dealt with in considerable depth in other courses. For example, students particularly interested in Negro students would also take English 123, Afro-American English (see Request for Approval). Those especially concerned with Mexican-Americans or bilingual education would take an appropriate course in Spanish plus English 250K, Seminar in the Contrastive Analysis of English and Other Languages.

The Department of English is now drawing up a proposal to reorganize its regular Plan-A M.A. in English. English 275 and 123 will probably be included in at least one of the study programs that will be recommended in the proposal.

The present English 375K will continue to be offered in the spring or summer quarters as a self-contained introduction to SESD for teachers or students who can take only one course related to the subject.

STAFFING SCHOOLS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

AN ETHIOPIAN CASE STUDY

J. Donald Bowen

Of the many problems that compete for the attention and limited resources of developing countries, that of building an effective educational system is invariably high on the list of priorities. Formal education is seen as the means by which those human skills that are essential for national development can be created and expanded. Many countries look forward to the day when trained local personnel can assume the positions of management, administration, technical services, etc., that are temporarily occupied by educated expatriates, often at premium salaries far above those paid local personnel in comparable positions. Technical (and therefore economic) independence can never be achieved until citizens can competently occupy the specialized positions, which typically not only assure national development, but also indicate highly coveted personal success.

It is particularly galling to a recently independent country to have to depend on the "more advanced" countries to supply the trained manpower to run a modern state. One case has recently been reported where no national was competent to provide translation services between the so-called "francophone" African countries and a particular "anglophone" country; this highly sensitive position, dealing with confidential, classified information of great importance to the national interest, had to be occupied by a person whose basic loyalties were to another country.

There are numerous similar examples of need for specialized personnel: road building and maintenance engineers, conservationists, military and defense planners, industrial designers, management consultants, etc. But the need is not limited to professional positions; the skilled trades are also short of trained and experienced personnel: machine tool operators, plumbers, electricians, electronic maintenance personnel, computer programmers, steamfitters, etc.

It is obvious that advanced technical education must rest on a broad system of general education. This assumption is granted by all national leaders, who in principle willingly support public education to the extent available national resources permit. A broad, general system is essential if human resources are to be efficiently and effectively developed, if the particular talents and potential of individuals for contribution are to be identified and developed. The key word is: support to the extent of "available" resources, and a developing country has many demands on those resources. It is the responsibility of wise leadership to determine allocations in such a way that a reasonable balance is maintained among competing demands, none of which can perhaps be supported in a really adequate way.

Even when the portion of national support dedicated to education is determined, it must still be decided how much goes to primary, secondary, technical, and higher education. A generous amount on the primary level may generate impossible pressures for secondary admissions. Secondary leavers must be prepared for university admission, if quality professionals are to be produced.

But educational opportunity at the secondary level must be balanced between academic and vocational training, since the majority of school leavers at this level must be prepared to enter the labor force. Vocational education is expensive and must be planned carefully to coincide with the demands of the economy. Otherwise the utilization of technical skills, even when competently mastered, becomes difficult and graduates become disillusioned and often bitter. Post-secondary education is particularly costly, and a country with limited resources must judge carefully whether it is more prudent to invest in expensive local facilities that will cater to the needs of a limited number of students or to send these students abroad for professional training. If an expanded educational system is to succeed, it must be supported by a strong economy. A rising standard of living must reward those who invest years of their lives in the pursuit of education, or dissatisfaction and frustration will alienate those who should be making a major contribution to national development.

It is particularly important to identify students with real potential and give them high quality training. The productivity of the insecure holder of a pro forma certificate or diploma is inevitably low, and often severe morale problems are generated when subordinates come to realize, as they undoubtedly will, that their superior is not competent. Few problems are as appalling to a personnel manager as that of deciding what to do with a poorly educated person who has status but not competence, and the problems multiply with time.

Indeed one of the tremendous advantages in the educational pattern of an advanced country is the ability to select for a position from among several equally trained candidates. The extras of personality, adaptability, ancilliary interests, etc., can play a more important role in the choice, and changes are more likely to be possible if experience indicates an unwise decision was made. In developing countries a more likely situation is that a student is selected for a position and *then* trained for it. This early commitment may be very difficult to alter. I know of one student who was assigned to become a language laboratory administrator; we were asked to include in his training: 1) laboratory management techniques, 2) the skills necessary to plan a language laboratory course, 3) the skills that would be needed for the actual recording of lessons, and 4) minor maintenance procedures for a variety of machines. Any laboratory in the United States would count itself lucky indeed to have a language laboratory director who fulfilled two or three of these requirements; all four would be most unusual. In the course of his training this student discovered he had no particular aptitude for, and no special interest in, language laboratories. But his training was planned and funded, so it continued. Today, if he has not escaped to some more compatible assignment, he is working as a very mediocre language laboratory director.

An ideal solution would be to train three people for every position, or five or even ten. Then select the best. But the luxury of duplicate training is not possible in most developing countries, where education must compete with other pressing national activities that place heavy demands on and usually strain national financial resources. The result is usually a series of compromises with ideal solutions. If planners have an accurate picture of the problems involved in educational design, better solutions are possible (not, of course, guaranteed). It is the purpose of this paper to 1) outline some of the problems that have to be met in educational planning for a typical developing country, and 2) discuss some of the particular problems that face education officials in a specific country: Ethiopia.

A developing country always experiences a shortage of trained manpower. The level of development can almost be equated with the history of education. Not only financial resources, but also--and perhaps more important--human resources must be spread over a large area of need. An expanding economy requires more trained people, and the schools are hard pressed just to keep abreast, let alone expand to serve a growing population and a larger percentage of the school-age children.

The schools, since they serve a large segment of the population, need a large professional staff. Often teaching has been the earliest professional opportunity available to local students in a developing area, partly because the demand for teachers is so great. As other activities become available, fields which are considered greener exert a powerful attraction on teachers. In search of better remuneration, a higher social position, or a more attractive place to live and work, teachers move to jobs in private business, in the civil service, or to careers in politics, and a pattern of using teaching as a stepping stone is developed. Many of the present members of the Kenyan parliament are said to be former teachers, persons who have taken advantage of their early training to move to a more prestigious position.

Another problem is the relatively large number of teachers that are needed compared to other positions that require a comparable amount of training. The very fact of numbers tends to promote an estimate of teaching as an "ordinary" vocation. Bank clerks are a more exclusive group, and they live in cities and towns. Communications specialists are found in post offices, radio stations, and telephone centers--also in towns. Clerks and minor officials are found in offices--in towns. But teachers are found everywhere, in rural as well as urban areas, and the prospect of service in a remote section of the country, often coupled with real hardships (poor housing, lack of medical service, unsanitary conditions), makes teaching as a career less attractive, though the resulting intellectual isolation may be even more difficult to accept.

Another shortage is financial support. Teachers' salaries are traditionally modest in all countries, perhaps because so many are needed and a small increment per teacher means a large increase in the national budget. In rapidly expanding systems, typical of developing countries, it is hard to keep salaries abreast of a rising economy, even harder to move ahead. And more than salaries is involved. Even when overall appropriations rise, per student expenditures can fall, making it difficult to do good teaching when buildings and classrooms are over-crowded, materials and supplies are inadequate, educational services lacking, etc.

One particularly difficult shortage is that of experienced administrators. If positions are nationalized before seasoned replacements are available, the general quality of education falls, along with the morale of the teaching staff. Nationalization can be a creative process, opening vistas of potential advancement to a school staff and strengthening the attractions of teaching as a career. But the effect is wasted if the cost is incompetent leadership. Nothing effects the quality of a school more directly than the competence, professional and personal, of its director or principal.

The very fact that so many teachers are needed, plus the fact that the quality of their service cannot easily be measured in any direct way, encourages low standards of admission to and retention in the profession. In some countries the demand for teachers so exceeds the supply that it is commonly assumed that anybody is acceptable as a teacher. Indeed, teaching is often considered as a kind of consolation prize for those who cannot find (or at an earlier point, qualify to train for) a better job.

A not untypical side effect of the difficulty of measuring the quality of the service rendered by teachers is pay scales set strictly on the basis of training rather than performance. This reduces incentive and contributes to a general dissatisfaction. Regardless of the job a teacher does, he is paid on a scale that recognizes only the amount of his own professional training; experience and responsibility count for nothing. The result is often a high rate of turnover: as teachers are able to find a "better" job they leave teaching. Meeting this problem generates others. One is bonding, which is resorted to as a means of prolonging the amount of service a teacher must render in return for support during his own training. It is definitely unsatisfactory as a long-term means of reducing staff turnover. Since bonding rarely applies to other professions, its existence in education is a form of discrimination which contributes to a lower level of prestige for teaching, which in turn encourages more teachers to "escape" when their "indentured service" is completed.

There are other general problems, but perhaps these are the main ones: 1) the high demand for teachers, coupled with competition from other sectors for trained manpower, 2) modest salaries and low expectation for improvement or promotion, 3) unattractive conditions of employment, particularly the possibility of being posted in a remote area with few or no amenities and the probability of intellectual isolation, 4) the limited availability of competent supervision and management on the local level for the schools, 5) coercive measures, like bonding, as attempts to minimize staff turnover, 6) the problem of low status in the community, aggravated by low standards of selection, 7) salary determined by level of training rather than performance, and 8) a high rate of turnover.

How these problems are met is the responsibility of professionals and policy makers at the national level--in the Ministry of Education. An attempt is usually made to get a fair share of the national budget devoted to education, but perhaps even more important is the assurance that whatever amount is appropriated is wisely spent.

A policy of wise utilization of available funds should stress professionalism, which covers several areas. Certainly professionalism includes pride of membership in education, the satisfaction of knowing one's contribution is important and appreciated, a career commitment to teaching, a well-planned program of inservice training to improve teaching ability, evaluation of a teacher's real competence and performance, and rewards commensurate with service rendered.

But how can professionalism be developed? Many of the ways are costly and even though such expenditures can be well justified, the necessary extra funds are hard to come by. Attractive salaries, a system of increments for successful experience, differential pay for hardship posts, pension plans and other fringe benefits, low teacher-pupil ratios, better buildings and furnishings, adequate supplies of texts and teaching materials, programs of inservice training, higher standards of professional service, etc. are ways of building a stronger professional service, but they all cost money. Each country must decide the amount it can afford to spend and uninvited suggestions from "foreigners" are usually as unwelcome as they are uninformed. National economies require "fine tuning" that can best be done by officials on the policy level who have an overview of the total needs and resources. Special pleading for education, or for any other specific area, will only tend to upset the balance.

I am more interested in answers that do not cost money (or that are relatively inexpensive) because these are more likely to be applied. And there are opportunities to increase professionalism without excessive financial investment. Furthermore school officials should hesitite to approach the national budget makers with requests for increased financial support until they have exhausted all the means at their disposal to get a better return from present appropriations. What are the specific ways an educational system can be improved with minimal increased investment by promoting professionalism in the teaching staff?

One clear means is through an enlightened posting policy. As long as some positions and locations are preferred over others, it makes good administrative sense to reserve those that are most highly esteemed for teachers (and administrators) who have demonstrated a commitment to education. New teachers should be posted in the remote, less desirable areas, with the understanding that they will be eligible for transfer if they so desire, after a specified length of service. Showing this kind of preference to experienced teachers rewards those who stay in education and shares the responsibility of service in less desirable locations among all teachers and does so at the beginning of their careers.

A second suggestion relates to salary. Regardless of the amount available for personnel salaries it should be allocated in such a way that at least small increments can be added to a basic floor in recognition of satisfactory experience. Often entering salaries are competitive with other job possibilities but the prospect of advancement is restricted by the knowledge that even superior service will not be recognized in the pay scales of future years. A decision to implement a graded salary-scale policy may be administratively difficult, implying a cut at the entering levels to provide subsequent increments. If this is the case, the first budget increase available should be used to fund a pattern of increments for service. Such a policy usually becomes acceptably economical when compared to the expense of training replacement teachers for those who leave the profession.

Another suggestion is merit recognition. This is not easy since it involves the evaluation of teaching effectiveness and the comparison of one teacher with another. The product of education does not lend itself easily to evaluation and many systems rely on training credentials: a secondary school graduate gets a specified salary, one year's university-level training another salary, two year's another salary, and so on. This system has the virtue of being easy to administer, but it encourages a regard for education not for its own sake or for what it teaches, but only for the increased salary associated with it. Furthermore, such a system takes no note of on-the -job training, the increased competence that comes with successful experience. Merit recognition can be through accelerated promotions, through preference in postings, or minimally through personal expressions of appreciation to teachers on the part of school officials.

A fourth suggestion for professionalism in an educational system is a program of coordinated enhancement of teaching as a career. This involves attractive working conditions, enlightened policies of supervision and administration, but most especially through public recognition of the contribution the teacher makes to society. A teacher who feels that his work is appreciated is more likely to develop a professional commitment. In many countries job satisfaction has acted as the magnet that attracts good teachers, to convince them that a career in education is personally satisfying and fulfilling, even when economic attractions are not convincing. Appreciation is the key and recognition is the most effective way of expressing appreciation, preferably public recognition.

But how can recognition be given? It must be sincere and more than a perfunctory acknowledgement at an occasional public ceremony. There are various ways. One is to select from a school or school area the "teacher of the year", with publicity to inform parents and school patrons just what the teacher has done. Perhaps a modest monetary prize would be a good way to say thank you. A public relations program can be carried on by the school to inform the community of school activities. Perhaps a parent-teacher association could involve the community in school affairs. In many places, but particularly in rural areas, a modest program of adult education would show the teachers to the community. The teachers should be given place of honor on the roster of influential local citizens, should be introduced to visiting public officials and guests in the community. They should be included on the occasion of local ceremonies or celebrations and introduced as professionals contributing to community development. They should work in local organizations, and should be consulted for their special skills in the solution of local problems. In short, school personnel should be involved members of the community, with their potential used and their contributions recognized.

As members of the school staff, teachers should be encouraged to develop and enlarge their professional capacity. Some programs of inservice training can be carried out at minimum cost. Extension classes may be offered from the university or teacher training colleges, teachers can be encouraged to meet professional visitors and given opportunities to visit and observe other schools. Such scholarships for advanced training as are available, for local or foreign tenure, can be offered to the most successful teachers who have academic competence. Opportunities for self-improvement should be available without the necessity of leaving the profession.

Another suggestion is that teachers should be represented on policy-making bodies within their Ministry, ideally by one (or more) of their own number by election. They should have an opportunity to participate in the decisions that affect their careers, their working conditions, the design of the school programs they will carry out. In many cases their participation would be an excellent antidote for the patronizing attitude "central-office" officials seem to be prone to, and it is refreshing to have the opinions of someone with recent personal experience in a classroom to counterbalance the views of the educational theorists (or, even worse, the educational politicians).

A final suggestion is the encouragement of professional organisations, based on either field or level. An association of language teachers, for example, can do much to enhance the classroom performance of a teacher, as well as providing opportunities for the exchange of ideas and organizational experience--good teachers are inevitably attracted to professional associations and often will spend money from their own meager resources to subscribe to journals, attend conferences, etc. The least the school can do is to encourage the teachers' participation.

How can these suggestions be adapted to the particular needs of a national school system? I should like to consider the situation and problems of the public schools of Ethiopia with a view to identifying certain problems to which some of the above suggestions might be applied.

Ethiopia presently educates a small percentage of its school-age population, estimated at 7.9%. To increase this percentage and to keep up with an expanding population will require a considerable expansion of school facilities. Against this need is the serious problem of recruiting, training, and retaining for professional service a corps of teachers equal to the task. In 1964 the language of instruction was changed from English to Amharic for the upper primary years, and a further linguistic nationalization of the junior and eventually the senior secondary schools awaits the production of an adequately trained and greatly expanded corps of secondary teachers. Until these teachers are produced, there will be no opportunity to offer education in the national language. The present staffing pattern is shown in the following chart:

Secondary Teachers in Ethiopian Government Schools - 1967-8[1]

	Expatriate			Ethiopian		
	Contract	Volunteer	Total	Univ. Service	Regular	Total
Jr. Sec. No.	129	151	280	174	783	957
%	10.5	12.2	22.6	14.1	63.3	77.4
Sen. Sec. No.	645	164	809	63	224	287
%	58.9	15.0	73.8	5.7	20.4	26.2
All Sec. No.	774	315	1089	237	1007	1244
%	33.2	13.5	46.7	10.1	43.2	53.3

As the chart shows, nearly half (46.7%) of all secondary school teachers are expatriates and the percentage rises to 73.8 in the senior secondary schools. Of the remaining half, over ten per cent are university students on a national service assignment, virtually none of whom will stay in education. That leaves 43.2 per cent of the present staff as career teachers, the percentage falling to 20.4 in the senior secondary schools. The seriousness of this problem is dramatically emphasized by the realization that only about 1.9 per cent of the secondary school-age population is currently in the schools, which means the system could be increased a potential 5163.2 per cent!

The production of competent secondary school teachers is completely insignificant compared to the needs. A system which at present employs approximately 2333 teachers is producing at the University Faculty of Education about 18 teachers per year. This rate will rise with the current intake of about 200 per year, but the attrition rate has been very high, around 40% in the final year. The prospect of Ethiopianizing at this rate is utterly hopeless. But the problem of staffing the primary schools also urgently requires attention. In 1968 there were 875 graduates from the country's four Teacher Training Institutes. While reliable figures on the number of resignations each year are difficult to find, a reasonable estimate is that at least 50% of the graduates were needed to replace teachers resigning from the service.[2] The increment to the teaching force, then, was a modest 422 teachers. That this is insufficient for the system is clearly shown by three statistics:

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[1] Data from the School Census for Ethiopia, 1967-68, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, p. 68.

2 An article by Aklilu Habte ("Brain Drain in the Elementary School: Why Teachers Leave the Profession", Ethiopian Journal of Education, Vol.1, No.1, (June 1967) pp. 27-39) cites figures for two years. Resignations as a percentage of newly trained teachers are: 1957-62.2%; 1965-50.8%. There is no evidence for believing the situation has changed in the last five years.

1) approximately 42.5% of the present staff is untrained or undertrained, even by the modest Ethiopian standards of two professional years for tenth-grade graduates, (incidentally, the ones who tend not to resign[3]), 2) a small 9.4% of the primary school-age population is presently enrolled in the schools, and 3) the population is growing at the rate of 2% per year, which means some 600,000 to 700,000 additional children reach school age each year.

Why do teachers seek other jobs and leave the service? There are many reasons, some of which are outlined below. Together they add up to a critical problem of staff morale in the schools which must be resolutely faced. The information offered in the following discussion was gathered in two sets of questionnaires at Haile Sellassie I University. One group consisted of enrollees in the Director/Supervisor program. Of 350 questionnaires distributed 207 or 59.1% were returned, a satisfactory percentage considering there was no compulsion to fill and return the form. Of the respondents 29.6% were currently school directors, 8.3% were part-time or temporary directors, and 62.1% were teachers. At the completion of three summers of training the part-time directors and teachers could expect a director's assignment--a promotion to a position of greater responsibility. The enrollees were supported for their training by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts.

The other group were teachers who could apply for summer training after completing two years of service in the schools. Of approximately 700 polled, questionnaires were returned by 343, or about 49.0%, again considered satisfactory since there was no official compulsion involved. Some teachers wrote thank-you notes to the investigator who was showing an interest in their problems. All forms from both groups were unsigned, and anonymity was preserved by asking no questions that could conceivably be used to identify individuals. All respondents had assignments in government schools, almost all from elementary schools. Enrollees in the teacher's course paid their own expenses but could expect salary increases upon successful completion of three summers' work (considered the equivalent of an academic year), as their own educational upgrading was validated by successfully passing their course work.

The questionnaires were wide ranging, but only a few responses will be reported in this paper--those directly relevant to the problem of staff morale. A limited amount of information is offered in the first questions, however, to help understand what types of persons make up the teaching staff.

	Directors/Supervisors	Teachers
1. Percentage of respondents 30 years of age or younger	93.3	98.5
2. Percentage of male respondents	97.5	96.7
3. Percentage who have completed grade 12 (a requirement for entry into the summer training program--does not reflect composition of full teaching corps)	99.5	99.4
4. Percentage who have taken the Ethiopian School Leaving Examination (required for regular university admission)	69.2	76.9

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[3] Ibid, p. 30: "Several school directors in the fourteen provinces visited by the writer characterize the teachers who leave their schools as active, responsible teachers, teachers who generally come forth with suggestions for the improvement of their schools."

	Directors/Supervisors	Teachers
5. Average number of subjects passed (five required-with three specified-for University admission)	3.05	2.96
6. Average number of years of professional service	4.8	3.7
7. Percentage paid E$ 251-300 per month	68.1	58.2
8. Percentage paid E$ 250 or less per month	25.2	40.0
9. Total percentage paid E$ 300 or less per month	93.3	98.2

The picture of the average teacher which emerges from the above figures is a young male with relatively few years of professional experience (more striking when one remembers that applicants must teach two years before being eligible for either program), who has finished grade twelve. Seven or eight of ten have taken the School Leaving Examination and virtually all of these have failed to qualify for university admission. Finally, and not surprising in view of the above, almost all are paid at the same rate. The youth and limited experience of the respondents is partly due to a recent rapid expansion in the school system, but it also reflects the high rate of turnover reported earlier in this paper.

How do these young teachers view their position as teachers and what are their own aspirations for their future? Answers to specific questions as reported are instructive.

	Directors/Supervisors	Teachers
10. Percentage reporting a desire to leave teaching to enter another job or profession	67.3	72.9
11. Percentage of No. 10 expressing a preference for banking or accounting	20.0	22.3
12. Percentage of No. 10 expressing a preference for government service other than education	13.3	18.9
13. Percentage of No. 10 expressing a preference for military or police service	13.7	11.4
14. Percentage of No. 10 expressing a preference for business or industry	13.7	13.8

Seven out of ten respondents state they wish to abandon teaching. The most popular alternatives are almost all prestige jobs. No one would normally rate a bank clerk's job high, but he works in a city, wears good clothes, and handles money--all signs of status. A few respondents answered bitterly, "any other job" or "any job that pays on time".

Numerous complaints are voiced on the administrative policies of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts--or more accurately on what respondents judge these policies to be.

	Directors/Supervisors	Teachers
15. Percentage of respondents who feel they will not be promoted to a better job on the basis of satisfactory or superior professional performance	42.6	51.2
16. Percentage expressing satisfaction in working with colleagues	95.0	92.4
17. Percentage expressing confidence in immediate superior	51.1	60.5

	Directors/Supervisors	Teachers
18. Percentage expressing a wish to transfer to a larger town	75.3	80.7
19. Percentage expressing a wish to transfer to a city (Addis Ababa or Asmara)	65.6	71.1
20. Percentage expressing a wish to transfer to a smaller town	48.1	38.3
21. Percentage voting affirmatively for all three transfer possibilities (Nos. 18, 19, 20)	15.9	14.0
22. Percentage expressing dissatisfaction with the availability of textbooks in English	*	73.6
23. Percentage expressing dissatisfaction with the quality of textbooks in English	*	63.5
24. Percentage expressing dissatisfaction with the availability of textbooks in Amharic	*	65.2
25. Percentage expressing dissatisfaction with the quality of textbooks in Amharic	*	64.6

* not queried

For over half of the respondents to express a feeling that superior performances will not be rewarded is a sign of no confidence in the quality of supervision and administration available to them. This is underlined by the fact that only five or six out of ten respect the professional competence of their superiors. Note the evidence that the higher positions command even less respect--the teacher vote is more favorable than the director vote. On the other hand, colleague relations in both groups seem to be very good.

Many wish to transfer, but the figures cited cannot be easily interpreted. Many may not wish to "transfer" to Addis Ababa or Asmara because they are already there. (Not asking the location of present assignments was a deliberate decision to preserve the respondents' anonymity). In view of this, the approximate 15% who want to transfer anywhere is cause for concern.

The teachers feel they don't get enough textbooks and they show limited enthusiasm for such books as are available to them. This attitude could certainly be changed by a vigorous policy of distribution to classrooms of books presently printed but held in warehouses and storerooms in the pipeline between publisher and teacher. Many teachers mentioned the problem of distribution, expressing the opinion that more could be done if the Ministry were to give this problem the priority it deserves.

Teacher and student strikes are ways of expressing extreme dissatisfaction. Unfortunately, the questionnaire, while recognizing both kinds of strikes, did not distinguish between them on a question concerning the sympathies of the respondents.

	Directors/Supervisors	Teachers
26. Percentage of respondents reporting days lost when schools were unexpectedly closed	38.7	41.2
27. Percentage of respondents included in No. 26 listing student strike as a reason	36.7	39.5
28. Percentage of respondents included in No. 26 listing teacher strike as a reason	24.7	16.3
29. Percentage of respondents included in No. 26 claiming reasons for strikes were good ones	55.4	52.9

The reasons listed for strikes were to support the demands of university students, delayed salaries, school administrative problems, and community strife--in that order. Of these the most serious administrative problem from a staff morale point of view seems to be the delays that teachers report in getting their salaries.

	Directors/Supervisors	Teachers
30. Percentage of respondents reporting salary delays during the year	73.8	77.9
31. Average number of times delayed	6.0	8.2
32. Average length of delay in weeks	6.5	6.7
33. Percentage of respondents who feel that given their level of academic preparation, salaries are not fair	75.4	72.2

The delays certainly cannot be justified, and it is easy to sympathize with the complaints of a teacher who has to manage somehow for a month and a half until his salary arrives, and to put up with this situation half to two thirds of the time. The dissatisfaction with the amount of salaries should perhaps be interpreted as general discontent and overall poor morale. Entering salaries are in fact quite competitive with those of other jobs available to secondary school leavers, though the scale does not include increments for merit or satisfactory service, and salaries for experienced teachers therefore tend to lag.

The strongest attraction to summer training courses seems to be the desire of teachers for further education.

	Directors/Supervisors	Teachers
34. Percentage of respondents who claim they wish to continue their own education	90.0	*
35. Percentage of respondents who list "self-improvement" as a reason for wanting to continue	64.5	*
36. Percentage of respondents who list "better standard of living" as a reason for wanting to continue	29.8	*

* Not queried

Many teachers continue to sit for the School Leaving Examination, often for years, after they begin teaching in hopes of collecting the five passes necessary to qualify for university admission. Those who succeed promptly leave teaching for university student status, and they rarely if ever study education. Summer training courses are a means of study that is believed to enhance one's chances of passing examinations. The two reasons cited in Nos. 35 and 36 together account for 94.3% of the total votes. It is most likely that both are expressions of interest in leaving education.

Another series of questions ask the respondents' opinions about the direction of improvement shown in Ethiopian education.

	Directors/Supervisors	Teachers
37. Percentage of respondents who feel the schools better prepare students for life in Ethiopia than three years ago	56.7	52.6
38. Percentage of respondents who feel the schools better prepare students for life in Ethiopia than ten years ago	85.3	76.2

	Directors/Supervisors	Teachers
39. Percentage of respondents who feel that it is easier to earn high grades in school than when they were students	63.0	57.7

These replies show a certain amount of ambivalence toward changing standards of education. Progress is definitely indicated for today over ten years ago (before the curriculum change that Ethiopianized the upper primary grades by adopting Amharic as a medium of instruction). Furthermore, the non-yes vote is split between no and don't-know at a rough ratio of two to one. In spite of this teachers seem to feel that fewer or lighter demands are made of students today, though this may merely reflect the human tendency to maximize one's own past efforts.

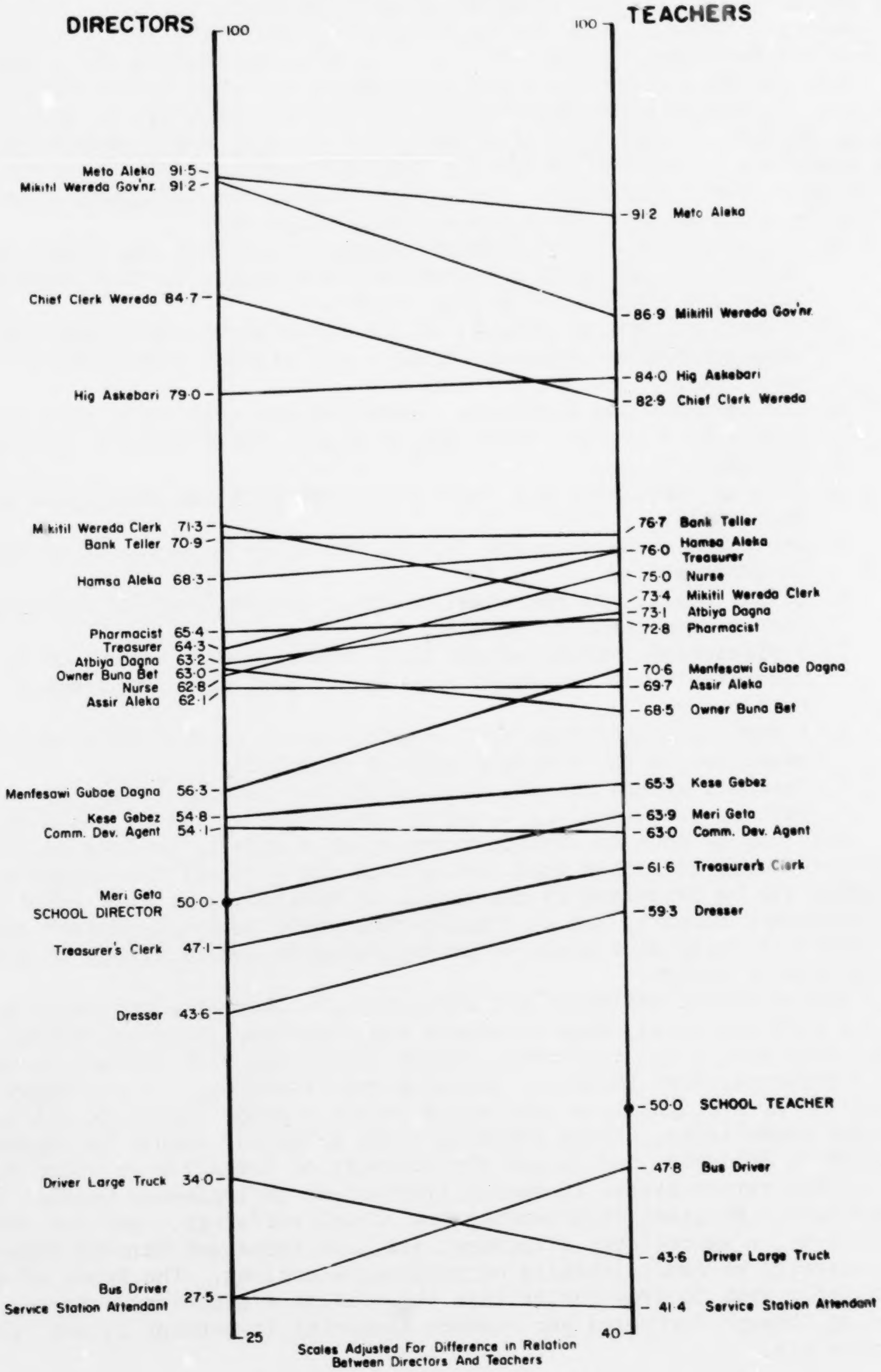
One question on the study invited respondents to rate their own professional position (school director for one group, teacher for the other) against twenty-two other vocational identifications, selected from what was expected to be a mid-range on the entire community socioeconomic scale. The very revealing results of this question are shown in chart form as figure 1. In order to facilitate a full appreciation of the significance of the ratings, the following definitions and explanations are offered:

Meto Aleka - police officer over 100, police lieutenant
Hamsa Aleka - police officer over 50, police sergeant
Assir Aleka - police officer over 10, police corporal
Mikitil Wereda Governor - district officer over a sub sub-province
Chief Clerk of a Wereda - clerk for a sub-province
Mikitil Wereda Clerk - clerk for a sub sub-province
Hig Askebari - roughly a court bailiff
Atbiya Dagna - local judge
Buna Bet - coffee house
Menfesawi Gubae Dagna - judge in a church court
Kese Gebez - priest in charge of a church
Meri Geya - teacher in a church school
Dresser - medical assistant qualified to render first aid.

The numbers on the chart indicate the percentage of votes that rate each position higher than director (left-hand scale) or teacher (right-hand scale). It will be seen that in the two scales school director and teacher are entered at 50 per cent, to reflect a majority vote for the positions listed above, a minority vote for those listed below. The scale for directors versus teachers is deliberately distorted to reflect the reasonable assumption that directors are rated above teachers; though the rating standard (director or teacher) may influence the judgments of the entire list, the sequence in each list should be consistent. Ratings are on the basis of opinions that the position compared is higher or lower in prestige or respect than school director or teacher.

It is with surprise and dismay that one considers the display. Both school directors and teachers are rated very low. Even for the very lowest ratings, over four out of every ten respondents feel that a service station attendant is socially above teachers and almost three of ten put him above school directors. Though the facts of social status hierarchy may not be completely accurate, there is every reason to believe that honest convictions are being reported. The high degree of consistency between the two scales indicates concurrence in the two independent sets of ratings, also the results of the teachers' and directors' ratings are consonant with the answers to other questions in the form, as reported above.

STATUS RATINGS



Scales Adjusted For Difference in Relation
Between Directors And Teachers

The low community status accorded teachers is not a matter of pure economics. Teachers' salaries, admittedly not the most attractive in the country, are still higher than the salaries of most of the occupations that enjoy higher prestige. Indeed, many of the officials high on the list are said to resent the fact that teachers are paid so well compared to their own salaries.

Yet the fact is teachers are regarded as not very important in the community. There are many reasons for this, one of which may be cultural. Teaching is thought of something like nursemaid service, and a common Amharic saying translates, "one who spends his time with children remains childish".[4] If it is true that low regard is culturally based, the resulting status is supported by a number of other factors, among which are:

1) The great demand for teachers makes it possible for almost any applicant to secure an appointment. The result is that teaching is often the employment of last resort.
2) A large percentage (42.5%) of the elementary school teaching force is untrained or underqualified; i.e., minimum standards for employment are not (cannot be) enforced.
3) The teachers and directors themselves are very young (95% are 30 or under) in a country where age is highly respected and equated with wisdom.
4) Working conditions are considered unattractive, physically and professionally.
5) Merit and experience are felt by the large majority of teachers to go unrecognized.
6) Salary scales and personnel policies are felt not to encourage a career commitment to teaching.
7) A widespread feeling exists that somehow modern education is not consistent with Ethiopian cultural values, does not respect ancient traditions.
8) A bonding policy that applies exclusively to certain students in education is considered a sign of denigration.
9) Teachers generally feel that their work is unappreciated, an opinion that is encouraged by a certain amount of strife in the schools.

What can be done to enhance teaching as a career, to make education attractive enough to retain good teachers in the service? For convenience this question can be discussed in two parts: 1) Modifications that would require new budgetary support, and 2) changes that would need only modest amounts of new money--changes that could be accomplished by modifications of administrative procedures or policy.

Better school buildings and facilities, a lower teacher-pupil ratio, (i.e., more teachers), more materials and supplies, including modern visual aids, more and better textbooks, salary incentives with increments for merit and experience, more inservice training opportunities, a supervisory structure supported by a budget item that would permit regular visits to all schools by trained supervisors. These remedies would certainly result in upgrading education in Ethiopia, and indeed the Ministry of Education is doing what it can within rather severe financial limitations to implement various of these activities. Programs of providing new school buildings, textbook production committees, a supervisory structure, etc. are important current efforts. But the scarcity of funds inhibits comprehensive actions. The needs of the schools invariably seem to grow faster than the available budgetary support, so upgrading through increased per student financial investment is not likely to be possible.

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[4] Aklilu Habte, op. cit., p. 38.

We should look closely, then, at possible modifications in activities that are less costly. Remedies of this kind should probably in any case be fully exploited before requests for additional funds are made. Some of the remedies suggested here may be beyond the control of the Ministry of Education, but none are beyond the Ethiopian government. The first suggestion is to remove an irritant mentioned by nearly eighty per cent of the respondents: delays in meeting payrolls. This is an unfortunate problem even from a financial point of view, since no money is saved by delaying payrolls--the same amount is spent whether teachers are paid on time or paid late. An investigation by a competent fiscal body should determine the specific cause(s) of these regular delays, and the government should promptly take whatever action is indicated, even if this means a major overhaul of administrative fiscal procedures.

A second suggestion concerns a centripetal posting policy. The Ministry claims such a policy exists; teachers believe it does not. The indicated action seems to be a vigorous and visible implementation. Perhaps specific rules should be devised and widely circulated. Public announcements could be made, perhaps circulated in memo form to all schools, of transfers under this policy. Perhaps a review body on which teacher representation is provided could periodically examine the way the policy is working and make recommendations.

As a third suggestion a concerted effort should be made to move textbooks to classrooms. This might require a reclassification of textbooks as expendable items, maybe beginning three years after books are placed in service. Losses might occur, but they would certainly be less serious than the present practice of allowing books to deteriorate and become obsolescent in storage. Guidance and policy by the central office of the Ministry should be sufficient to implement a more productive policy.

A fourth suggestion is to arrange for honest public expression of concern for the problems of school personnel from ranking public figures. An occasional statement of appreciation would be well worth the effort as a means of convincing teachers that their government and their country are interested in their needs and grateful for services rendered under difficult conditions. Such expressions must of course be sincere, supported where possible by tangible evidence of appreciation.

A coordinated program of public relations is a fifth suggestion. Efforts through community programs to show what the schools are attempting to accomplish should produce dividends. Perhaps a "teacher-of-the-year" recognition could include a modest prize--perhaps a sponsored visit to Lalibela or Axum etc. could be arranged. This could be a very tangible way of extending public recognition for outstanding professional service.

A sixth suggestion is to arrange for participation by teachers, i.e. representatives of teachers, in the policy-making circles of the Ministry. This kind of direct contact with the classrooms and the schools would probably prove helpful to the Ministry, as well as recognizing the concern and potential contribution of the teaching profession. The contact between the teaching level in the field and the Ministry might help dispel some of the suspicion and hostility that are so apparent among teachers.

The seventh suggestion would facilitate the sixth: to encourage the formation, activity, and contribution of professional associations. These would represent school areas and levels or subject specializations. Organizations could help identify the teacher representative who could speak to and with the Ministry. Good professional organizations stimulate interest, encourage up-grading, facilitate the introduction of new ideas and concepts, promote esprit de corps, present a productive outlet for teacher initiative--in general terms, promote professionalism, which is badly needed in Ethiopian schools.

These and other efforts to place a higher value on education, to recognize the contribution of teaching and learning, to improve the efficiency of instruction--all are well within the Ethiopian tradition. Education has been considered of central importance in the reigns of the emperors Menelik II and Haile Sellassie I, who have recognized the schools as the key to progress and improved productivity, and therefore the means of improving the quality of life for all Ethiopians.

Some of the problems of staffing the schools of Ethiopia may be typical of other developing countries. Some are no doubt limited to the particular situation in Ethiopia. But all countries, developing and developed, share the need to provide competent, professionally qualified teachers in their public school system. For developing countries this is usually a more difficult problem because of the relative scarcity of educated persons and the resulting competition for their services. Yet educational needs are pressing; development of other sectors of the national life cannot satisfactorily proceed without a continuing and increasing flow of young people trained in the basic skills demanded by a technologically-oriented society. Any policy which enhances the value of the contribution of a nation's teachers, which encourages the development and retention of expensively-prepared teacher skills, which recognizes the importance of public education, which encourages professionalism among teachers will repay in rich dividends of national progress the efforts invested.

MORE PROBLEMS FOR THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ESL TEACHER

Evelyn Hatch

In planning lessons for young ESL learners, a good deal of attention has been paid to the kinds of activities--games, stories, rhymes--that give appropriate practice to elementary children as contrasted to the oral pattern practice material for junior high, high school students, and adults. Writers are also very aware that different vocabulary choices have to be made for children and adults. Little if any attention, however, has been paid to the following questions: 1) Is the same sequence of structures appropriate for elementary children, older children, and adults? 2) Are items taught for recognition rather than production the same at all levels? and 3) What standards of "mastery" must be attained when students are young children?

Perhaps so little attention has been paid to these questions because of constant reassurance in the literature that the Anglo child has, on entering school, "mastered his language" or that the child "knows his language by the age of five." If the Anglo child with whom the ESL child is to compete knows all the language, then the ESL child has everything to learn. Therefore, meaningful criteria for sequencing are cited as pedagogical (which structures build on previously taught structures) and contrastive analysis (which structures will be difficult for the child because of likely interference from his first language).

Searching for empirical evidence to show that the claims about first language mastery by age five are true, one is usually referred to such works as Berko's study on the child's learning of English morphology (1958) or to the paragraphs in Chomsky, Lenneberg and other sources where language acquisition is described as an amazing 30-month process made possible by wired-in abilities set off by physical maturation. It is, as Fraser (1964) remarks, as if every child were born with his own little copy of Aspects tucked away inside him which magically unfolds page by page until the constructing process is so sophisticated that the child produces all varieties of sentences up to the 11-word limit.

To base such sweeping claims about the child's mastery of English at age 5 on such sources is risky, indeed, for a closer look at the sources only shows that no such sweeping claims are made by the authors. Berko's data, for example, shows that only 28% of the responses given by children for plurals using the /ɨz/ form were correct. Is it logical then to expect the ESL child to perform accurately on the /ɨz/ plural at more than a 28% criterion level? Bellugi-Klima (1964) and others investigating early childhood language have emphasized again and again that the child has mastered his language but that it is his language that he has mastered and that the rules of child language are not necessarily the same as those of an adult. While he may produce all varieties of sentences up to the 11-word limit, there is no guarantee that the sentences would meet adult standards for grammaticality or even the standards that the ESL teacher tries to set for her young students.

In the past few years, a number of investigators have published empirical evidence that shows that while a truly impressive language framework has been established by the age of four or five, many children have not mastered complex structures nor have they made many of the finer discriminations in features that we try to teach elementary ESL learners. The studies reported very superficially here are on fairly simple structures since these occur in early ESL lessons. They are arranged by topic. None of the experimenters claimed that no child was able to produce the forms cited, nor did they claim that children who failed to produce the forms would always fail to perform. The data, in each case, *do* have to meet statistical significance. They cannot, therefore, be dismissed simply as "performance errors."

NOUN PLURALS. As mentioned above, Berko found that young children did not produce the /ɨz/ plural form with much consistency. This finding has also been noted by Susan Ervin-Tripp (1964) in her experiment with young children. Anisfeld & Tucker (1966) found that young children substituted a number plus an unmarked noun rather than a plural ending for nonsense words most frequently when an /ɨz/ form would have been required. More correct responses were given for /z/ plurals than for /s/. In addition, irregular plurals are frequently produced as regular forms (e.g. mouse-mouses) or as doubly marked forms (mouse-mices) by elementary school children.

NEGATION. Children have no problem with sentence negation but most children do not produce forms of constituent negation in the early elementary grades (e.g. His shoes are *untied*. There are *no* marbles in the box.) (Bellugi-Klima, 1969.) *Some/any* confusion is also frequent among kindergarten and 1st grade children. When constituent negation is applied, doubly marked forms are common (e.g. There *aren't no* marbles in the box.)

PRONOUNS. The accusative case pronoun as subject is very common in the data of young children. Kindergarten children show gender errors like *mother-he* and gender and number errors like *Billy and Steve-she*. Kindergarten and 2nd grade children readily accept accusative case pronouns in subject position with most frequent case changes occurring in third person pronouns (he→him, she→her, they→them, in such sentences as: Him is the good guy. Her did it.). A small number of kindergarten children also frequently changed pronouns from nominative to genitive case (Their did it) in this experiment (Hatch, 1969). Labov has also noted gender and number confusion as frequent in the speech of young Black children in NYC. Chomsky (1968) found that children under age 9 were not able to recognize pronoun referents of sentences like:

Peter told Robert *he* was sick.
Peter told Robert he looked sick.

Chai (1967) found that while 8th graders could solve such pronoun reference problems, fifth graders could not.

Further, the pronoun system seems to be late in the development sequence for children who speak other languages. Gregoire (1947), for example, shows that the most persistent problem for young French speakers is the pronoun form (e.g. *Il* est mechante, *la* fille. Où est-*elle*, *le* garçon.) It seems unlikely that the ESL learner will be able to consistently produce correct pronoun forms for English if he has not learned them in his own first language and if English-speaking children of the same age have not learned them.

MASS vs. COUNT. English-speaking children assimilate mass nouns to the count category. The child says, "I want two bacons" and "How many ice creams you want?" Brown and Berko (1960) found that nonsense words introduced as mass nouns were not responded to as well as were count nouns. Lovell and Dixon (1967) found chance level achievement on comprehension of mass categories for children at 6 1/2 years. It was found (Hatch, 1969) that given a game where children asked each other "how *much/many*" questions as required by the two noun categories, kindergarten and 2nd grade children were neither able to ask or answer the questions with standard forms. Kindergarten children confused both forms (rather than assimulating mass to count) asking questions like: "How many cheese? How much lettuces? How much oranges? How many apple?"

and answers like: "three bread, five gums, two banana." Russian literature (Gvozdev, 1949) also shows that the rules for mass/count are not established by Russian-speaking children until after age 8.

COMPARATIVES. Graeme Kennedy (1970) showed that "even in the relatively restricted area of quantitative comparisons, children have by no means mastered comprehension of the linguistic devices for comparatives by the time they enter school." The difficulty of comparatives depends in part on linguistic form, partly on negation, and partly on whether quantities are the same, greater, or less in quantity. Children up to the fifth grade level gave fewer correct responses to negative comparatives (e.g. There aren't as many pencils as pens.) than to affirmative. Children also gave fewer correct responses to minus quantities (e.g., There are fewer apples than oranges. There is less ice cream than cake. The number of marbles is smaller than the number of balls.). Labov also cites use of double forms in children's speech like "He is more taller than you" and other forms like "He can run the same fast as I can."

IRREGULAR PAST. Susan Ervin-Tripp (1964) remarked that contrary to expectation children learn the irregular past forms first. Later, when they have learned the regular past rule, they then regularize the previously learned irregular verbs. Following this, they begin to produce the two forms in variation. The variation of forms persists well into the upper grades with children producing such forms as "He ran/ranned/runned around the block." First and second grade data collected by a number of investigators (see, for example, Menyuk 1964) also shows this variation.

TWO-WORD VERBS. Menyuk (1968) and others have noted double marking of the particle on separable two-word verbs. Examples are cited such as: "Mama put on the rouge on" or "It's time to pick up the toys up."

CONJUNCTION. Young children are notorious for their run-on narratives conjoined by "and then...and then...and then." Conjoined forms where do and the noun are reversed (...and so did Bill. ...and neither did Chris) have been shown (Hatch, 1969) to elicit fewer correct responses from young children (2nd grade) than noun plus do forms (...and Bill did too. ...and Chris didn't either). Time clauses that violate order of occurrence also are difficult for kindergarten and 2nd grade children (Hatch, 1969). Given sentences like:

Move a red one and then a yellow one.
Move a red one before you move a yellow one.
After you move a red one, move a yellow one.

the child will move first a red marker and then a yellow one. Given a command like:

Move a yellow one but first move a red one.
Before you move a yellow one, move a red one.
Move a yellow one after you move a red one.

the child will still move the markers in the order mentioned, first a red and then a yellow. Prior to 2nd grade, children showed no real comprehension of before/after but they did respond in the order of mention to commands.

RELATIVE CLAUSES. Slobin (1967) and others have remarked on the early appearance of comprehension of relative clauses by young children. His informant repeated relatives as conjoined sentences. (Given "Mozart who cried came to the party," she would repeat "Mozart cried and he came to the party.") Passive relatives, however, were beyond her ability to repeat: ("The house the boy found was big" was repeated as "Boyhouse was big.") Gaer (1967) found that relative clauses following an object were much easier for children age 6 than center embedding or double relatives. That is "The girl saw the boy who was kicking the ball" was easier than "The boy the girl saw was kicking the ball" or "The girl is watching the boy catching the ball the man is throwing." The design of this experiment makes it impossible to attribute differences only to the syntactic variable. Douglas Brown is currently investigating difficulty of relative clauses with children in elementary school.

PASSIVES. The passive is certainly the most researched topic in child language; all research shows that *be* passive is difficult for children. The *got* passive, however, has not been investigated and seems to be used almost exclusively by young children when they wish to use passive voice. The agent is seldom included (e.g. The boy *got hit*.). The irregular participle forms are regularized by most children, form errors occur with frequency even among teenagers (e.g., *rided*, *catched*, *throwed*).

An interesting study by Sinclair-de-Zwart (1969) reports that French children age 5 decode passives as though they were reciprocal. A sentence like "Peter is washed by Mary" was acted out by the children in such a way that Peter and Mary each took a sponge and washed each other. "The red marble is pushed by the blue" was acted out by taking a marble in each hand and banging them together. In the active sentence, the child simply left the marble on the table and hit it with the blue one.

CAUSATIVES. Chomsky (1968) showed that children had problems with pronoun reference following contrasts in "A *told/promised* B to C" type constructions. Given directions like: "Mickey told/promised Bozo to jump/dance/run. Make *him* do it," children up to the age of 9 were unable to give consistent responses. Luria and Kramer (1969) found that it was not until 12 years of age that children could handle such structures.

CONDITIONALS. Kindergarten subjects give no consistent evidence of conditionals like *if...then*, *if not...then*, *unless...then*, or *unless...then not*. Given directions to look at a colored disk and follow commands, the children could not make correct choices of whether or not to follow commands like: "If it's red, wiggle your fingers. If it isn't blue, raise your hand. Jump up and down unless it's yellow. Don't touch your shoes, unless it's black." Second grade children could respond correctly to *if...then* commands, gave close to chance responses to *if not...then* and *unless...then not*, and uniformly misinterpreted *unless...then* sentences. (Hatch, 1969)

INDIRECT QUESTIONS. Olds (1968) used a game situation in his study of connectives of various types. He noted that children were unable to respond accurately to commands like "Tell/ask your opponent how many places to move." Chomsky (1968), also interested in testing embedded questions, used *ask/tell* as part of the stimulus sentence and found that none of the children (up to age 10) were able to perform the task exemplified by such sentences as: "Tell/Ask Laura what to paint." For the *ask* statement the child would respond "Laura, what do you wanta paint?" or even "Paint the box."

The last finding explains why indirect drill cues such as "Johnny, ask Betty how old she is" or "Ask Bill what color it is" so frequently provoke responses from ESL children like "I'm eight" and "It's green."

A wealth of information on frequency of structures is available from analysis of tapes of the Anglo child's language in a variety of natural situations. Loban (1964), O'Donnell (1967) and others have charted frequency of patterns. Sample percentages for children in 3rd grade according to O'Donnell show 43% of all sentences as Subject-Verb; 44% Subject-Verb-Direct Object; 4% were sentences with *be*; 3% were *there is/are* sentences; 0% indirect object sentences. Such information (complete data is available in the mentioned studies) should also be used in planning materials for young ESL learners. If the Anglo child produces a large number of subject-verb and subject-verb-object sentences in his natural speech, it seems that we would want young ESL learners to thoroughly master these patterns. If the Anglo child seldom uses the indirect object, or there is/there are sentences, then perhaps less time should be spent in requiring the young child to completely master these less frequent forms.

I imagine all ESL teachers at this point protesting, "What am I to teach then? Isn't it important to teach pronouns? Don't my students have to learn /ɨz/ plurals? What a lot of nonsense!" I agree that we do have to teach these forms. But I also argue that if the child fails to meet a criterion test, and it is quite likely that he will, we should not immediately discard our teaching methods nor should we decide that the student is a dummy. I am not suggesting that we excuse poor teaching of the indirect object on the grounds that Anglo children seldom use indirect objects. Quite the contrary. All I ask is that elementary ESL teachers give more serious attention to three questions in light of this information:

1. What items should be taught for comprehension rather than production?
2. What standards of mastery can we expect the child to attain?
3. Are structures sequenced in the best possible way?

A final argument for making ESL teachers more aware of the language of the English-speaking child: In a pull-out system such as that in Los Angeles it is quite likely that after working for an hour on mass/count nouns in his ESL class; for example, "Do you need many crayons?", the student will go back into his regular class to be met by classmates who say, "Hey how much of these crayons you need?" If we believe the overwhelming evidence that children learn more from their peers than from their teachers, we have another interference problem to consider--the language patterns of the English-speaking children with whom the ESL child studies and plays the rest of the day.

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ENGLISH CURRICULA FOR NON-ENGLISH SPEAKERS

Russell N. Campbell

A review of the hearings before the House Committee on the Bilingual Education Act will show that a large number of educators and school administrators consider the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL) to be one of the components of a bilingual education program.[1] As a member of, but not necessarily speaking for, a professional group of several thousand American ESL teachers, I would like to use this opportunity to define as clearly as possible the actual as well as the potential role of ESL in the education of non-native speakers of English in the United States.

My remarks will center around four categories of students who might be thought to profit from ESL instruction: namely, 1) university 2) secondary 3) non-university adults and 4) children entering our elementary schools.

The needs of these diverse groups vary considerably. Foreign university students generally have already completed 12 to 16 years of formal education and usually have had a number of years of experience with English before coming to this country, and they are assumed to have previously reached a high degree of English-language proficiency. That this is not always the case is reflected in the large number of elementary ESL courses that have been established in nearly every large university from New York to Hawaii. This group of non-native speakers of English in our educational institutions has received more attention from ESL experts than any of the other groups mentioned above. That so many of them failed to learn sufficient English in their home countries to succeed in American universities has been a blessing in disguise. For the major contributor to the development of a set of assumptions about the optimal conditions for second-language acquisition has been our collective experience with this particular group.

This experience, coupled with the acceptance of the concepts held by descriptive linguists as to the nature of language and language acquisition can be said to account for the ESL professions' support and propagation of what has come to be known as the audio-lingual or aural-oral approach to second-language teaching. We will want to keep this orientation in mind as we discuss the role of ESL in the education of the other groups.

Non-native speakers of English who enter our secondary schools are similar in some ways to the foreign students who enter our universities. Like university students, secondary students are probably recent arrivals in this country who have had considerable previous academic experience and they are probably literate in at least one language. However, the high school student may still be in the process of gaining certain fundamental skills and knowledge prerequisite to either obtaining a job or entering college. They differ also in that we cannot assume that they have substantial previous experience with the English language. That is, we cannot assume that they have a basic knowledge of English upon which we can build as we do for university students. Furthermore, whereas we have over a quarter of a century of experience behind us in dealing with foreign university students, we have all but ignored the special problems of the secondary school student. In those instances when high school personnel have sought the guidance of university ESL experts, we frequently see the imposition of essentially the same methods and techniques that have been found suitable in the university programs. Quite frequently this results in the establishment of special ESL classes for these high school students some time during the school day while the remainder of their program is identical of that of their native English-speaking peers.

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[1] This paper was presented at the Twenty-First Annual Round Table meetings on Linguistics and Language Studies (Georgetown University) March 1970. James E. Alatis, Chairman.

Bringing to bear both our experience with university students and a common-sense comparison, we can see that the wholesale adoption of university tactics for the solution of English-language deficiencies of high school students has little to recommend itself. We have found that university students who come to us with minimal knowledge of English, even though they receive our most sophisticated ESL instruction, are quite likely to perform badly in their academic pursuits during the first two or three terms at the university. Given that high school personnel are even less prepared to teach ESL and that the foreign student is less likely to have as much previous experience with English, then we cannot be very optimistic that such a program will greatly facilitate the students' academic careers in our high schools.

It also helps me to appreciate the plight of foreign teenagers in our secondary schools if I try to imagine what would have happened to me academically if I had been abruptly enrolled in a secondary school in Tokyo or Mexico City when I was, say, 15 years old. Even if I were given special instruction in Japanese or Spanish for a period every day--I cannot imagine that I would have been able to continue my studies in math, history, biology, etc., without serious difficulty. I certainly would not have had any hope of competing with my Japanese or Mexican classmates.

It seems perfectly clear to me that we have two alternatives if we are truly going to assist foreign secondary school students. One, we must develop full-time English-language programs for them and delay the continuation of their normal educational program until such time as they demonstrate an ability to pursue academic studies without major hindrance from English-language deficiencies. Or, two, we must develop for these students parallel academic courses in the student's native language which he would pursue along with special ESL courses. This second alternative seems perfectly feasible to me for this age group, at least for students who are members of large non-English-speaking groups in this country, e.g., Spanish or Chinese. To find teachers and teaching materials for these students in most urban areas would not appear to be an insurmountable task. Such instruction would permit the student to rather comfortably and securely enter our educational system without the massive opportunity for frustration and failure that he would face otherwise. Although an ESL course would be of some benefit to a foreign high school student who was forced to study in the normal English curriculum, it clearly cannot prepare the student to compete immediately with his English-speaking peers in academic course work.

It is very difficult to describe the adult foreigners who flock to evening ESL courses. For those who have read Leonard Ross's Hyman Kaplan, not much more need be said. They range from highly educated professionals to illiterate manual laborers. Their most common need is a rapid acquisition of enough English to permit them to be mobile in the community and to establish themselves in an appropriate job. Once again, ESL professionals have been slow to attend to the needs of those attempting to teach students in this situation and when they have, they again (usually) bring their university-oriented solutions to bear.

Adult education presents so many problems that it is difficult to generalize. An article by Sue Ervin-Tripp may provide some guidance. She describes the possible linguistic needs of a newcomer to San Francisco's Chinatown as follows:

> Virtually all of his roles in adult life can be conducted in Chinese, and it is common to find long-term residents of the United States knowing virtually no English. Let us suppose a man conducts a business with some non-Chinese customers. In that case he may learn some English words, but the necessary interchanges can be extremely limited in vocabulary and syntax. He may have to make some purchases outside the Chinese community. But on the whole his situation is very much like that of a tourist. It may be a general fact that the first and most rudimentary forms of speech demanded of an adult in an intercultural situation are usually request forms with a vocabulary specific to goods or services exchanged. The reason is that the roles involved are typically economic--customer, employer, and so on. If we know what the functions of such speech are, we can find how much of the language need be learned, or will be learned first. It is clear, for example, that even phonemic distinctions are not needed for communicating request forms in a highly redundant context.

A more precise understanding of these limited needs would suggest priorities to be considered by the ESL teacher or textbook writer.

In those instances where the adult student is needful of instruction that would lead to the mastery of some skill or trade, then it would again seem most appropriate that such instruction be given in his native language. The alternative would be to postpone such instruction until the student had acquired a high degree of proficiency in English. For most adults such a postponement would be to his great economic disadvantage. We, again, must recognize that current ESL methods cannot simultaneously teach the adult student English and give him technical or complex instruction in that language.

Now to turn to the group of students who have been uppermost in the minds of those who are concerned with bilingual education; namely, the young five- or six-year-old speaker of some language other than English who enters our elementary schools. In the following remarks I shall have in mind particularly the Mexican-American children of Southern California and the Navajo children on the Navajo reservation. Traditionally, these children have been expected to enter our schools and perform as if they were native speakers of English. That is, their teachers taught in English, the teaching materials used were written for English speakers and the children were tested in English. The results of such instruction and testing are well known. By the end of the six years of elementary school, a great number of these students were tragically behind their English-speaking counterparts in their academic achievement and were prime candidates to drop out of school within an additional few years. To explain these results, the most common assumption has been that it is unreasonable to expect a child to acquire the fundamentals of education in a language he does not understand. Educators, with this assumption in mind, turned to the ESL profession for help and found a sympathetic ear. Over a 10-or 15-year period a substantial number of ingenious courses and teaching devices has been developed to teach English to these children. Underlying nearly all of these efforts we again find the same limited assumptions that were found acceptable in the preparation of materials for university students.

Although one can hardly doubt that such programs have to some degree alleviated the problem, there is very little concrete evidence that they have made it possible for the student to perform any better scholastically than did his older brothers and sisters who received no such instruction.

While this plan continues to be employed in a number of school systems, an alternate solution has emerged; essentially, it is the same solution that we came to earlier for high school and adult students. Why not initiate the student's education in his native language, say, Navajo or Spanish, and teach him English at the same time? Then, at some point, after two or three years, after he has fully learned English, we can switch the child to an all-English curriculum. This solution is intuitively extremely attractive, and indeed, were it implemented, might well result in a number of favorable benefits for the child. But there are several aspects of such a program that should be considered carefully before accepting it as a solution to the problems of scholastic achievement and the acquisition of English as a second language. First, as suggested earlier, there is little evidence that our current ESL methods can adequately prepare students of this age to assume their studies in English after two or three or even four years of ESL. There is no doubt that we can teach him a great deal of English, but whether it will be enough to permit him to compete with his English-speaking peers in their third-and fourth-grade studies is at least in doubt.

Another important concern is the availability of sufficient materials and teachers to teach children of this age in their first language, especially, if we have in mind the Navajo child. I am not sure whether this concern is as serious for Mexican-American children in California. I suspect, however, that we assume a uniformity of proficiency in Spanish on the part of these children that may be illusory. There is some evidence that their competence in Spanish ranges over a broad continuum from complete competence to only passive knowledge of a small amount of Spanish. If this be the case, then we at least must take it into consideration before accepting this plan as if they were all equally prepared to receive their education in Spanish.

We have, so far, recognized that our success at teaching the Mexican-American and Navajo child as if he were a speaker of English has not been maximally beneficial to the child. We have also considered briefly two alternative plans and seen that neither is without inherent problems. However, it seems apparent that our major efforts will continue along variations of these two solutions unless we re-examine our first assumption, i.e., that it is unreasonable to expect a child to gain the fundamentals of education in a foreign language.

In an earlier paper at this conference (Lambert, 1970) we heard the results of an extensive experimental program in St. Lambert, Canada. We heard that a number of Anglo children were taught as if they were French-Canadian children, and we further learned, contrary to our intuitive expectations, that they not only acquired near-native-speaker competence in French, but they have performed in all but one scholastic area (verbal expression) as well as both Anglo and French-Canadian control groups in both languages. Without further repetition of the remarkable results reported by Lambert, one can at least suspect that the previous accounting for our failure with Navajo and Mexican-American students may have been extremely narrow. It apparently is not the fact that it is unreasonable to expect children to acquire the fundamentals of education in a foreign language. Once one accepts this as a possibility, additional evidence in its favor can be brought into focus.

From 1960 to 1966 extensive research was carried out in the Philippines "to determine the effect on language and subject-matter achievement at the end of grade four and of grade six, of beginning English as the language of instruction in grade 1, in grade 3, or in grade 5". Among other conclusions, as reported by Frederick B. Davis, 1967 the following were reached:

a) Proficiency in English is directly related to the number of years in which it is used as the medium of instruction.
b) The effect of increasing the amount of time devoted to teaching English in classes where it is not used as the language of instruction is likely to accomplish relatively little.
c) At the end of grade 6, the group that used English as the medium of instruction in grades 1-6 (as compared to those in which English became the medium of instruction in the third or fifth grades) displayed, on the whole, the highest level of achievement on subject-matter tests whether the tests were given in Tagalog, English, or bilingually. (These tests were on social studies, science-health, arithmetic computation, and arithmetic problems.)

In this Philippine study, the concern was with Tagalog-speaking children who would later have to carry out their secondary school studies in English, i.e., a situation in some ways similar to that of our Navajo and Mexican-American children. I again quote from Davis:

> it is clear that any change in the number of years in which English is used as the medium of instruction will effect the facility and effectiveness with which the pupils can profit from instruction in English in secondary schools and colleges. ... It is likely that if the Philippine Public Schools made a drastic change and used, say, vernacular languages in different areas as media of classroom instruction in Grades 1-6, most public-school pupils who entered secondary schools would be so handicapped, if the language of instruction in the classroom, texts, and references continued to be in English, that the schools would have to lower their academic standards and increase the time devoted to teaching English.

A second bit of evidence, admittedly of indeterminate importance, that we tend to ignore when thinking about the child's capacity to assimilate to a new linguistic environment, is the massive anecdotal evidence we have that children of this age who are set in a foreign language environment, almost without exception, perform in that language on the same level as do their native-speaker peers within a matter of weeks.

Finally, the success reported by those bilingual education projects which have initiated a scholastic program with more-or-less fifty percent of the curriculum in English and fifty percent in the foreign student's native language, are to a large extent dependent upon the assumption that English is most efficiently acquired when used as the language of instruction.

The nagging question that now must be surfaced is the following: If children can succeed academically in a foreign language, then how do we account for our rather miserable performance in educating Mexican-American and Navajo children in an English curriculum? That is, what are the factors that differentiate the scholastic and language-learning success of those Anglo students in Lambert's study and the success attained by minority students in our schools? At this point one can only speculate, but at least a number of hypotheses suggest themselves:

1) Teachers hold low academic expectations for these children and the children respond accordingly.
2) The students' (and their parents') attitude toward the culture represented by the English language are such that it is detrimental to the acquisition of English.
3) Because of socio-economic conditions, the pre-school opportunities for concept-development of the part of these children is in some significant way different from those of the students in Lambert's studies.
4) Rather than given the feeling that their adjustment to foreign-language instruction is proceeding in a normal fashion, these children are subjected to unwarranted feelings of failure, fear, and frustration during the earliest days of their schooling.

One or another of these or related hypotheses may account for our relative lack of success in educating non-native speakers of English in our elementary schools. What appears to be nearly certain is that for whatever reason we reject an English curriculum for non-English speakers, it should not be on the basis that children are not innately capable of succeeding in such a program.

We began by asking what the actual and potential role of ESL is in bilingual programs. It is apparent that with our current knowledge we cannot compete with the language-acquisition results gained by the children in Lambert's study or in the Philippine experiment. It may be that our accumulated knowledge would suggest solutions to some of the persistent structural problems that these students had, but by and large, it appears that their over-all gains in competence in the foreign language exceed those we would hope for in a conventional ESL program.

With our current knowledge of ESL, we can, under certain conditions, continue to make important contributions to students in the other three categories discussed above. However, our potential contributions to second-language learning are, in fact, much more interesting.

Not too long ago, the typical kind of research carried out by members of our profession was the addition of yet another contrastive analysis of English and Spanish phonemes. Our questions, almost without exception, were asked within the confines of something called Applied Linguistics. As suggested by the hypotheses listed above, we are now seeking to broaden our basis for research both by developing an awareness of the accumulated findings of psychology, sociology, and education and by stimulating members of these fields to direct their attention, along with ours, to specific questions that we have identified on second-language acquisition.

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LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

John W. Oller, Jr.

Paper presented at the Second International Congress of Applied Linguistics (AILA), at Cambridge, England; September 12, 1969.

My presentation today is intended as a diagnosis of certain problems which have encouraged language teachers, especially in America, to parse language into 50,000 structural items (to use Dr. Belasco's figure) while failing in many respects to see the sense and importance of realistic communicative use of the language in the classroom. Also, it is partly a prognostication of future activities in second language learning theory and methodology which, incidentally, are already apparent in many of the discussions at this conference.

How we say something is intimately related to what it is that we wish to say. If this were not so, you and I could not understand each other. But we do. If we attempt to separate the "how" of saying from the "something" that is said, we run into difficulty. We cannot reasonably ask *how* something is said unless we presuppose *that* something is said. In other words, if we ask how something is said without already knowing that something is said, our question does not make sense. It is a non-sequitur. A necessary presupposition is lacking. In the present discussion I wish to suggest that (1) the currently dominant theory of transformational grammar, which has its roots in American structural linguistics, indulges in the error of asking *how* linguistic units are put together without giving sufficient attention to questions concerning *what* information is being coded. (2) Failure to give adequate attention to the use of language to convey information has carried over into theories of second language learning and methods of second language teaching. (3) The presupposition that language coding involves both complex linguistic forms and complex sets of extra-linguistic information is essential to an adequate theory of second language learning.

To begin with, let us examine briefly certain tenets of transformational theory from 1957 through 1966. In *Syntactic Structures*, 1957, Chomsky stated that his grammar was to be a completely formal description of language structure with "no explicit reference to the way this instrument is put to use" (p. 103). He argued that syntax and semantics were to be strictly separated, saying "Grammar is best formulated as a self-contained study independent of semantics" (p. 106). Clearly, Chomsky's original thinking was that language was best understood apart from its instrumental use. This thinking reflected the earlier theorizing of Leonard Bloomfield (1933) and Zelig Harris (1947).

In 1963 with the publication of Katz and Fodor's now famous paper on semantic theory, it finally became generally recognized by American linguists that an adequate theory of language would have to deal with meaning. However, Katz and Fodor assumed that the meanings of utterances could be described, independent of the settings in which they might occur. They ruled out consideration of the contexts in which utterances occur by arguing that "a sentence cannot have readings (i.e., meanings) in a setting that it does not have in isolation" (p. 488). Again, they were attempting to treat language as a self-contained system apart from its actual use. Oller, Sales, and Harrington (1969) have argued to the contrary that an utterance cannot have any meaning in isolation that it could not have in some setting. In other words, in addition to asking "How is it that speakers say what they mean?", we must ask "What is it that they mean?" In order to answer the latter question, it should be clear that the contexts of utterances are relevant and, in many cases, essential.

Katz and Postal (1964) followed Katz and Fodor (1963) in excluding from consideration the communicative contexts of utterances. Their semantic theory was largely adopted by Chomsky (1965) who continued to argue that it was fruitless to talk about "a semantic basis for syntax" (p. 78). In Chomsky (1966), it was argued that the study of the relation between linguistic units and extra-linguistic facts is not necessary to a theory of language. It seems that this was a serious error. Unless linguistic theory concerns itself with the relationships which hold between linguistic units and extra-linguistic facts, the basic nature of language will go unexplained. Moreover, if linguistic theory should continue to relate linguistic units only to other linguistic units, it will be plagued by an incapacitating circularity (Oller, Sales, Harrington, 1969).

The argument in favor of treating language as a medium of communication was well put by Bertrand Russell in his excelling treatise, An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth (1940). Russell was voicing a criticism of the viewpoint of certain philosophers of the logical positivist persuasion. His criticism is accutely applicable as a refutation of Chomsky's argument that language should be treated as a self-contained system apart from its communicative function. Russell says:

> The purpose of words, though philosophers seem to forget this simple fact, is to deal with matters other than words. If I go into a restaurant and order my dinner, I do not want my words to fit into a system with other words, but to bring about the presence of food. I could have managed without words by taking what I wanted, but this would have been less convenient (p. 186).

Anton Reichling (1961) has suggested that the very viewpoint which Russell was criticizing here is the historical source of Chomskyan transformational theory. Regardless of whether or not Reichling is correct, it should be clear that language does function to codify information about extra-linguistic entities, relations, desires, etc. Thus, a theory which continues to deal exclusively with relations between linguistic units and other linguistic units cannot hope to achieve adequacy.

This would seem to be the best explanation for the current trend among a few leading transformationalists away from language as a self-contained system, and towards language as a medium of communication. Papers delivered at the 1969 meetings of the Linguistic Society of America and the Chicago Linguistic Society by Ross, Lakoff and Morgan clearly suggest a changing emphasis in transformational theory. Rather than as a system with a syntactic component as the central element, with no input to it (see Figure 1)[1], current tendency is to view grammar as mediating between a highly organized conceptual data set on the one hand and phonetic representations on the other, with inputs and outputs going in both directions (see Figure 2). The latter model is more consonant with the fact that language is a medium of communication.[2]

At this point, we ask, how does all of this relate to applied linguistics and second language learning? I believe that the question of whether language is essentially a self-contained system or more basically a medium of communication is crucial to theories of second language learning and methods of second language teaching. Suppose we assume that language is a self-contained system, going along with transformational theory. Our emphasis in theory and practice will necessarily be structural. Clear evidence that linguistic theory has in fact encouraged an emphasis on physical structure, often at the expense of meaning, is found in the vast literature on contrastive studies done at the phonemic, morphemic, and syntactic levels. By contrast there is an extremely sparse literature in applied linguistics on the semantic and pragmatic aspects of language. In fact the study of the pragmatic facts of language--i.e., those having to do with the relations between linguistic units, speakers, and extra-linguistic information--have been almost totally neglected in applied linguistics. Pragmatics, which is the study of linguistic coding, logically includes the study of syntax and semantics. However, it is only recently that this notion has begun to be employed by linguists and psychologists. Interestingly enough, the pragmatic factors involved in the use of language appear to be far more important than phonological and syntactic ones when it comes to matters of speech perception, production, and language learning. (This conclusion finds support in the recent studies of Wason, 1961, 1965, Denny, 1969, Collins and Quillian, 1969, Herriot, 1969, and Taylor, 1969.)

In terms of application in the classroom, the treatment of language as a self-contained system, apparently encouraged Nelson Brooks (1964), and Rand Morton (1960, 1966) to argue that manipulative skills should be acquired through pattern drills which in themselves are not related to communicative activity. Morton went so far as to insist that the acquisition of manipulative skills must precede expressive use. This is to say, that syntactic and phonological structures are best acquired by drill apart from their instrumental use. In an experiment designed to test the relative effectiveness of presenting structures apart from communicative activity and within active communication, Oller and Obrecht (1968) showed that exactly the reverse is true. The mechanical manipulation of structures is best learned in the context of communication.

Another reflection of the assumption that languages are best viewed as self-contained systems, is the common practice by textbook writers of organizing materials on the basis of syntactic principles rather than semantic or pragmatic ones. So many textbooks fall into this category that it would be unreasonable to try to mention even a significant number of them. It seems that the criticism by Otto Jespersen in 1904, against many foreign language textbooks of his day is as apropos as ever in the 1960's. He said:

> The reader of certain foreign language texts often gets the impression that Frenchmen are strictly systematical beings who one day speak merely in futures, another day in passe definis, and who say the most disconnected things only for the sake of being able to use all the persons in the tense which for the time being happens to be the subject for conversation..." (p. 17).

Oller and Obrecht (1969) have shown that sentences are learned more readily when they are placed in a meaningful sequence. In other words, learning is more efficient when the natural order of utterances in communicative events is preserved. The obvious explanation for this fact is that the student is able to capitalize on what he already knows about sentences in a dialogue or story. He has certain expectations about what sorts of information can follow from what has preceded. This frees him in part from concentrating on decoding meanings and allows him to relate meanings to forms.[3]

All of the foregoing supports the assumption that the communicative function of language is an essential point of concern for any theory of second language learning which aims at adequacy. It suggests that the basic principles underlying many current theories of second language learning and practices in second language teaching, may need a thorough re-evaluation. It seems that one of the most important problems for further research and experimentation is the relative importance of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors in second language learning. If contrastive analyses are up-dated to relate *coding* processes in different languages, we may well discover that the most important principles to be considered in program construction are pragmatic ones. That a sequence of lessons which are connected in terms of the extra-linguistic information that they contain may be superior to a series of lessons linked only by the syntactic principles which they illustrate. This is not to suggest that the more familiar syntactic and phonological properties of language should be neglected but rather that perhaps they should be presented in a more realistic context from the point of view of language communication.

It seems that we would do well to reconsider the importance of the relation between the questions "How is something said in a language?" and "What is said?" We should be careful to remember that the former question presupposes the latter--that real utterances are *intrinsically* structured for communication.

In conclusion, I would like to make an observation on the present conference. It seems that in spite of the tremendous diversity of view-points expressed throughout the meetings of this section of the Second AILA Congress, there has been a certain recurrent theme. The meetings began with the observation by Dr. Belasco that 50,000 well-analyzed and well-learned structural items do not insure for the student the capacity to communicate in the target language. He suggested a classroom technique utilizing highly motivating communication in the language. Similarly, Dr. Newmark noted the need for the student to observe and participate in realistic use of the language. Dr. Sapon, even, whose viewpoint is clearly distinct from most of the thinking expressed here, insisted on defining verbal behavior as an interchange between at least two people. According to him, anything less is not verbal behavior. Professor Asher's developing program stresses a total involvement of the language learner in responses to verbal commands. Dr. Carton's considerations on "inferencing" from extra-linguistic information clearly approach the pragmatic aspects of language communication. Other papers could be mentioned in this regard, but on the basis of these alone, I believe that it is safe to conclude that there is fairly general agreement that the basic goal of foreign language teaching is to enable the student to successfully send and receive messages in the foreign language; that the necessary and sufficient means for achieving this objective is to involve the student in active communication in the target language. The sooner, the better.

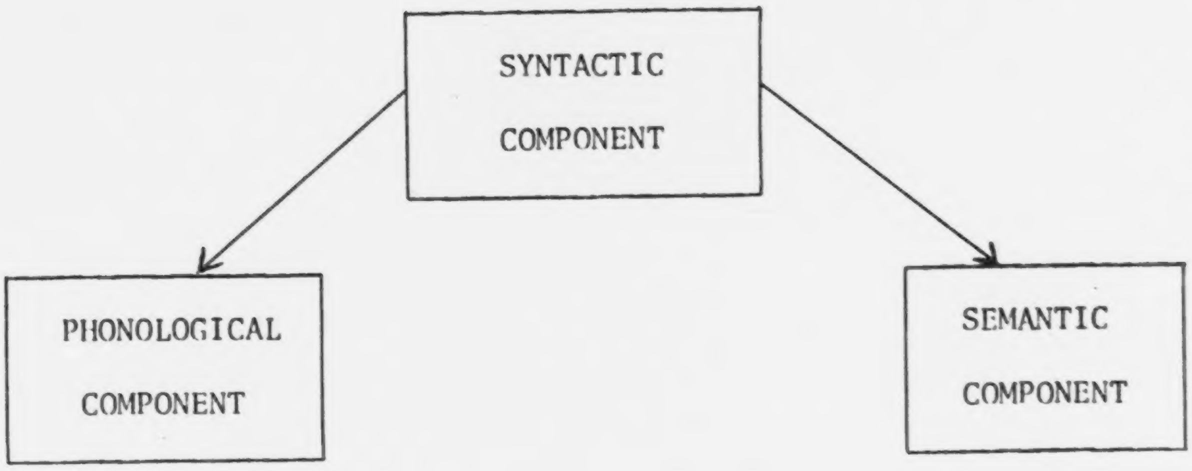
SYNTACTIC COMPONENT
PHONOLOGICAL COMPONENT
SEMANTIC COMPONENT

Figure 1

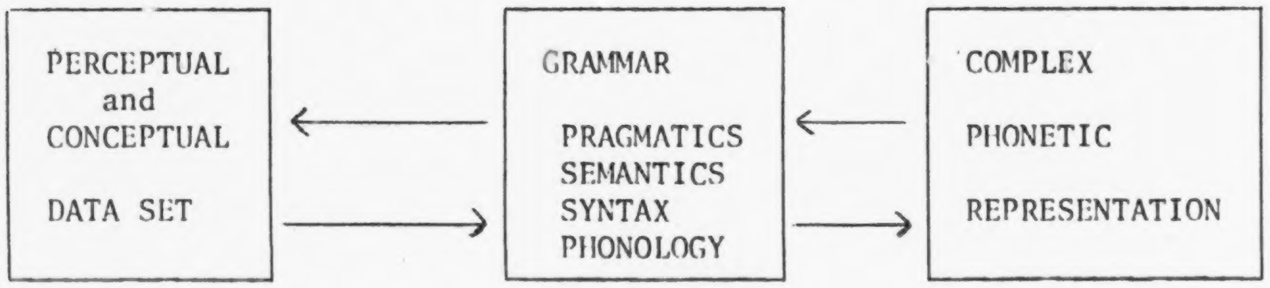
PERCEPTUAL
and
CONCEPTUAL
DATA SET
GRAMMAR
PRAGMATICS
SEMANTICS
SYNTAX
PHONOLOGY
COMPLEX
PHONETIC
REPRESENTATION

Figure 2

NOTES

[1] Here we also encounter indirectly the controversial issues related to the definition of the terms "competence" and "performance". If we assume with Chomsky (1965) that a model of competence need not account for the facts of performance, then a separate performance model seems to be called for. This seems undesirable, however, because it abolishes the original definition of competence--viz. the speaker's capacity to use his language. By this definition, an adequate model of competence would account for performance hence obviating the need for an extra model of performance. See Oller, Sales and Harrington (in press) for a more complete discussion. For the alternative viewpoint calling for a model of performance, see Fromkin (1968) and Schwarz (1967).

[2] Incidentally, the latter model conforms more nearly to the thinking of a number of schools of linguistics which have been less popular than the transformational variety. Saussure's lectures a half-century ago (compiled by his students, 1959), the Prague school of Linguistics (see Vachek, 1967), Boas (1911), Sapir (1921), J.R. Firth (1934-1951), Reichling (1935, 1961), Hjelmslev's Glossematics (1957), stratificational grammar Lamb (1966), Chafe (1965, 1967, 1968), Uhlenbeck (1963, 1967), Rommetveit (1968), Oller and Sales (in press), all maintain that language must be treated as a medium of communication. Many other works and authors in linguistics and in a great variety of other disciplines could be mentioned.

[3] McGeoch and Irion (1952) give the following explanation:

> When one says that material *A* is more readily learned than material *B* because *A* is the more meaningful, one implies that *A* receives more advantage from transfer effects. This, in turn, is tantamount to saying that the learner already knew more about *A* at the beginning, or possessed more effects of prior training which could be brought to bear on the practice of *A* (pp. 471-472).

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COMPUTERS & TESL

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Though computers influence our lives in numerous ways, they have had, as yet, little impact on TESL[1]. This is due both to the background and interests of the people in TESL and to the present state of the field of TESL itself. TESL experts have been trained in the humanities, linguistics, or education. The terse, mystical operation of computers is distant from their training, their interests, and their thought patterns. TESL is far from an emperical science, and much is yet vague and unordered. But computers must be instructed very precisely, and as yet we lack the precise model on which to base our instructions to it. Also most computer work has been with numerical data, not natural language data. Computers are more capable of, it seems, manipulating numbers than working with meaningful sentences. Finally, we just simply lack experience in working with computers.

I feel that, even given the present state of TESL theory, computers do have a great deal to offer us, and in this workpaper, I want to outline the area and give some examples of potential TESL uses of computers. Obviously, the scope of this paper must be limited to suggestions, and the examples are limited to English. But these suggestions are equally useful for, say, teachers of French. Any novice planning to work in this field will need an expert to write the actual programs[2]. I am, of course, very willing to share the programs I have been using in India, but to implement them in another computer installation you will need expert assistance.

One other thing we must keep in mind is this: It is no longer a question of what the computer can or can't do. It can do anything we can tell it to do. It is now a question of our being able to think of what we want from the computer and to formulate our problem in a precise way so that it is suitable for the computer. Do we precisely know what we want the computer to do? Can we exactly state our problem? If we can, then the computer will help us solve it.

Of all the numerous uses of computers, I can single out four general applications which can make significant practical or theoretically heuristic contributions to TESL. They are statistics, computer-assisted instruction, simulation, and editing. I will only briefly touch the first three topics, but will more extensively discuss and illustrate the last, editing.

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[1] D.Y.Morgan, British Council advisor to the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad, India, told me recently that Ronald Mackin, the Longmans Green author, has used a computer in his materials writing. Dr. Morgan did not know details. This is the only author I know of,, other than myself, who is using computers in TESL materials development. I would appreciate knowing other instances. Of course, the computer has been used a great deal in linguistic research.

[2] From my experience, I would recommend that a novice begin with the SNOBOL programming language. It is the most useful, and it is very quickly learned. There is no necessity of learning FORTRAN.

I. STATISTICS

Statistical operations in research involve hundreds of calculations. Computers are extremely adept at this. The days of the hand-cranked calculator are passed. In couple of minutes, a medium size machine can compute hundreds of correlation coefficients, means, standard diviations, t-scores, etc. At IIT/Kanpur, we have a program which in around eight or nine minutes has computed forty-nine hundred correlation coefficients plus a factor analysis of the data, a 70 x 70 matrix, on a large body of sociological data.

For the TESL experimenter, it is easy to use the computer for statistical calculations. In almost every computer facility, packaged programs are available which perform many sophisticated statistical operations. The UCLA Medical Center is a leader in this field. All the TESL experimenter must do is decide which statistical processes would be most useful to him and appropriate for the data, and then find out how the data should be arranged, i.e., its format (how it should be presented to the computer). Facilities always have consultants, and they will quickly explain what to do. Our problem is learning to use and interpret the sophisticated statistical techniques available to us.

II. CAI

Computer-assisted (or "aided") instructions, CAI, is not unlike a crowder-type programmed text, i.e., the multiple branching instructional program as opposed to the linear one. But it has many additional features. One is that it can present a variety of stimuli at the same time, e.g., it can be in control of projectors, TV screens, tape recorders, typewriters. Another is that it can keep an exact account of the students' errors, reaction time, total time, and comments, and organize all this data as well. No other materials research can be so exacting. All this will let the writer know exactly how the students responded to his materials, and he can edit and rewrite his course accordingly. UCIrvine has been involved with CAI.

TESL is ready, I believe, for research in CAI. There is no paucity of alternative methods and techniques, ideas, theories, assumptions, and hypotheses. But they all concern that elusive subject of how people learn languages. Using CAI has one major drawback. This type of research is very expensive, and a large grant would be necessary. However, inspite of the expense, I believe that the computer will eventually have as great an impact on education as has the invention of the printing press five hundred years ago.

III. SIMULATION

The third area, simulation, can be of great heurestic value to TESL. To attempt to simulate, to create as it were, the factors and conditions (the inputs, treatments, and outcomes) involved in learning even a small segment or area of a language vividly points out how little precise empirical knowledge we have and how necessary research is. I tried simulating the introduction and learning of new vocabulary. What are some of the factors:

(1) The vocabulary itself: cognates (apparent, hidden, and false), length, pronounciability, abstract-concrete, part of speech.

(2) The number of items.

(3) The type of learning activity: translation, pictures, actions, readings, writing, listening.

(4) The amount of practice: number, frequency, and length of practice intervals.

But to simulate all these variables, we need to assign relative values to the different factors. On what empirical basis do we assign, for example, an efficiency value of .80 to forty minutes of practice and .50 to twenty minutes? In numerical terms, how much easier is it to learn cognates over non-cognates? We have some information, but not a great deal.

If we assign numerical functions, the machine will simulate any number of different combinations of factors, and calculate outcomes. But the results will be only as accurate as the input. Computer people have a new word for this: "gigo", which means "garbage in, garbage out". This is why I said above that at the present time, simulation is primarily only of heuristic value. It makes us think about the fantastic number of variables we work with, and will lead us, I think, to more precise statements of our hypothesis. Then we can set up controlled experiments to test our theories. The Rand Corporation and the Systems Development Corporation, both in Santa Monica, have been very active in simulation work.

IV. EDITING

The final area, editing, is of practical use to me here in India, and for this reason it makes up the body of this work paper. Editing includes what I call "computer pre-editing" and "computer post-editing." In the first, the computer prepares and evaluates a passage in a number of ways for a writer, and in the second, it evaluates the passage for further rewriting.

Suppose for a moment that we want to prepare a passage for adult learners, say, on the "brain drain" from developing to developed countries. In a magazine we have found a nice passage of about the length we want. What is it that we as material developers, course writers, need to know about the passage in order to rewrite it and construct ancillary materials and exercises for our class? We want to know a number of things that a computer can help us find out[3]. Obviously, we want to know what words, prefixes, and suffixes the passage contains, and we might also like to know how frequent the various words are. A computer can do this. It can alphabetically list the words in the text by beginnings, by endings, and by frequencies. Thus, for example, all the pre- words are together, and all the un- words are together. And all the -ation words are together, as are all the -ate words. If we were making a lexical drill on the relation between verbs with -ate (correlate) and nouns with -ation (correlation), then we could easily find out which occur and how frequently they occur. Illustration 1 contains a sample of three large pages of computer printout on one seven-hundred word passage. Note that in the second column, alphabetized by endings, the -ation words are found under final n and final s.

```
 1 PREDECESSORS       1 PROVEN              37 THE
 2 PRINCIPAL         10 IN                  30 OF
 1 PROBLEMS           1 BILLION             20 AND
 1 PRODUCTION         1 CORROSION           14 TO
 2 PROGRAMS           1 EROSION             11 IS
 5 PROJECT            2 MISSION             10 A
 1 PROVEN             1 UTILIZATION         10 IN
 1 QUESTIONS          1 PRODUCTION           8 RESEARCH
 1 RAISES             1 CONTRIBUTION         7 SCIENCE
 1 RATIO              1 ABELSON              7 WERE
 1 READILY                                   6 BEEN
 2 RECENT                                    6 EVENTS
 1 RECOGNIZED                                6 PP
 1 RELATED           6 SYSTEMS               6 SYSTEMS
 1 RELEVANCE         1 SUBSYSTEMS            5 HAVE
 1 REMAINDER         2 CONCLUSIONS           5 ITS
 1 REPORT            1 GENERATIONS           5 PROJECT
 8 RESEARCH          2 ORGANIZATIONS         5 TECHNOLOGY
 2 RESISTANCE        1 CONTRIBUTIONS         4 AS
 1 RETROSPECTIVE     1 CONTRUBUTIONS         4 BY
 1 SAMPLING          1 QUESTIONS             4 FROM
 7 SCIENCE           4 WEAPONS               4 HAS
 2 SCIENTISTS        1 YEARS                 4 HINDSIGHT
 1 SCIENTIFIC                                4 PERCENT
```

ILLUSTRATION 1.

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[3] We could, of course, find out all these things without the aid of a computer, but the computer (1) is more accurate, (2) is faster, and (3) doesn't get tired and bored. Thus the computer will do a silly, stupid, useless job just as quickly and accurately as an interesting, useful one.

We would also like to know which roots occur. The computer can be programmed to search for roots and list out the words containing them. So, for example, if you want -*struct*- words, it would list out those occuring in the text, perhaps, *structure*, *construction*, *distruction*. (If we wanted -*stroy*, as in *destroy*, as well, we must instruct the computer to search for it.) Knowing which roots is important because we want to teach families of words and the English system of word-building. We must have the data to do this with.

To have a listing of the words, prefixes, suffixes, and roots, and their frequencies is clearly useful. But if we want to see the words, or affixes, or roots in context, then [illegible] must go back to the passage and search through it to find them. Here again, the computer can help us. It can construct a concordance. In a concordance, the items are listed in their sentences. A concordance can be made containing every occurrance of every word in the text. Thus, if there are 290 different words in a 658 word passage, then they will be arranged alphabetically (by beginnings or by endings, as we wish,) in 290 groups totaling 658 sentences. Concordances can be selective (e.g. only concord *struct*,-*stroy*, -*ment*, -*al*) or restrictive (concord every word except *a*, *the*, *some*, *and*, *on*, *of*), and by beginnings or endings. We can limit it to, say, the first ten occurrances of a word. It is obvious that concordances can save us a lot of time, especially if the text is long.

Another thing we would like to know is the gross relative difficulty of the text. Difficulty is function of many factors, of course, and some of these are way beyond my knowledge of computer programming. For example, the content of a passage on nuclear physics is more difficult than a passage on changing a bicycle tire. But how to tell a computer this, that is the problem. And there are so many different topics. However, some factors concerning difficulty are easy to compute, e.g. the average sentence length, the average word length, and the number of various grammar-words which tend to make the passage's syntax easier (e.g., *and*, *but*, *or*) and words which tend to make its syntax more difficult (e.g., *which*, *that*, -*ing*, *to*, *for*).

Illustration 2 is computer output from a program which counts the vowels (including *y*), consonants, words, sentences, and commas in a short passage, and then computs various ratios and averages. What these averages and ratios mean as far as difficulty is concerned is beyond the scope of this paper.

```
VOWELS OCCUR 530 TIMES.
CONSONANTS OCCUR 758 TIMES.
LETTFRS OCCUR 1288 TIMES.
BLANKS (= WORDS) OCCUR 273 TIMES.
COMMAS OCCUR 13 TIMES.
PERIODS (= SENTENCES) OCCUR 13 TIMES.
THE RATIO OF CON TO VOW IS 143 TO 100(0).
THE RATIO OF VOW TO WORDS IS 194 TO 100(0).
THE AVFRAGF WORD IS 4.71 LETTERS LONG.
THE AVFRAGF SENTENCE IS 21.00 WORDS LONG.
```

ILLUSTRATION 2

"Pattern-flagging" or "word-flagging" is another useful thing the computer can do for us. Suppose we were writing a textbook. We would want to maintain a certain re-entry rate for our vocabulary items, e.g., we would want to make sure that a word introduced in lesson 7 was also used in lessons 8, 9, and 10. But it is boring to check the re-entry rate and it is easy to make mistakes, so we have the computer do it for us. Let's, for example, flag the new words of lesson 7 with the number 7 followed by a dash. Thus the computer is programmed to find "house" and replace it by "7-house". Then throughout the text whenever those lesson 7 words occur, including house, they are flagged "7-". We could do this for all lessons as well. Finally, every vocabulary item could be printed out with the numbers of the lessons they are used in and their frequency, e.g.,

HOUSE 5(7), 2(8), 3(9), 1(10), 4(13) ....

which indicates that "house" occurred five times in lesson 7, two times in lesson 8, etc.

Flagging of natural language texts is useful, too. But more useful is to slightly break down the text as well. I call this "semi-parsing". Suppose we want to construct drills on the various uses of BE. We can have the computer search for BE-words (*is*, *am*, *are*, etc.) in our reading passages and then print out the sentence or only the rest of the sentence, as we like. Thus we have all occurrence of BE in the order they were in the passage. Another example: we could semi-parse by searching for the main complementizers, *that*, *to*, *for*, *-ing*. Of course, the computer is simply instructed to search for "that", and then if it finds it, do something, say, print it out preceded by "***" to catch our eye. We will get some "noise" this way because these grammatical items are used to indicate several functions, e.g., *that* is a subordinator and also a determiner, a relative pronoun, and a pronoun. We use a program here at IIT/Kanpur which flags occurrences of 71 transition devices and indicates whether the individual device is one of addition, alternative, time, etc. For example, the 28th sentence in a passage we use for intensive reading here at IIT/Kanpur is "Now, graduate students are to be drafted, and if the federal budget is to be cut, academic research will fare badly." The output from this program is below. (Because the actual output is fourteen inches wide, I have had to cut off much of the right side of the page.)

```
 28.   NOW GRADUATE STUDENTS ARE TO BE DRAFTED, AND IF THE

          49.       1- ADDITION    AND IF THE FEDERAL BUDGE
          50.       4- STIPULATE   IF THE FEDERAL BUDGET IS
          51.       5- TIME        NOW GRADUATE STUDENTS AR
SEARCH WILL FARE BADLY.
          52.      99- COMMA     , AND IF THE FEDERAL BUDGE
          53.      99- COMMA     , ACADEMIC RESEARCH WILL F
```

ILLUSTRATION 3

An idea of some of the things that a computer can do should be clear now. Basically, it searches for a word or group of words. When the search is successful, then it does something such as counts, replace or substitutes it with something else, or rearranges things. It does this very fast and very accurately.

Three final examples: If we knew exact rules for the replacement of word stress, we could have the computer indicate where the word is stressed, e.g., replace ATION by 'ATION, replace X-IC with 'X-IC (PHOTOGR'APHIC CORREL'ATION).

English uses phrases as lexical items. It isn't enough to only know the words in a passage. We should also know the pairs of words. A alphabetical printout listing combinations of words is very useful.

Last year I wrote a programmed penmanship text. Realizing the impossibility of having the students practice each and every common word, I wanted them to practice at least the more frequent combinations or sequences of letters. Illustration 4 is part of the printout on two editorials from a popular magzine. The number again indicate frequency. The asterisk indicates a blank.

```
 3 HRC    2 HS*    1 HT*    3 HUM    4 HYD    7 IAL    1 IBE
10 ICI    3 ICS   14 IDE    2 IDU   10 IES    8 IET    3 IFE
 2 IMP    1 IMS   40 IN*    7 INA    5 INC    5 INE   15 ING
46 ION    1 IP*    1 IPA    1 IPM    3 IR*    1 IRD    2 IRO
14 IST    1 ITF   15 ITI   10 ITS    1 ITT    3 ITU   10 ITY
 1 KEE    1 KIL    7 LAR   10 LAT   10 LD*    5 LDS   15 LE*
 5 LIV   19 LL*    3 LLY    1 LMO    1 LOG    4 LOR    4 LOW
 3 LUM    1 LUS    3 LVE   17 LY*    1 LYI    1 MAG    2 MAK
 9 MIC    1 MIG    3 MIL    3 MIN    1 MMA    1 MME    2 MMI
```

ILLUSTRATION 4

CONCLUSIONS

I have tried to describe some uses of the computer for people in TESL, emphasizing some simple things it can do for a writer. The computer is a fantastic machine, capable of helping us in a great number of ways. To an outsider it seems terribly complicated, and it is. But then so is an automobile. We daily use cars without knowing very much about them. We can also use computers without knowing much about them. If our car doesn't work, we see an expert. The same with the computer. Thus, the complexity of the computer isn't a barrier to our using it. The barrier is the informal nature of TESL, and this nature is not compatable with the way computers work. The computer can do any job which we can explicitly instruct it to do.

I you now feel that you can use the computer in your TESL work, you are correct, because you can. And I believe you will find it to be, as I have found it, a rewarding experience.

LINGUISTICS & THE PRAGMATICS OF COMMUNICATIONS

John W. Oller, Jr.

Language like every other blessing derives its value from its use alone. Yet it is the ordinary use of language which transformational grammar largely ignores. Questions like "How is this sentence used? When is it appropriate? To what situations can it apply?" have been set aside in favor of questions like "How does this sentence relate to other sentences? What parts does it consist of? How do the parts interrelate?" Certainly these questions which concern the internal structure of language are important and must be asked, but they are far more meaningful when asked in the light of the preceding questions which have to do with how language relates to human experience. If we do not ask both kinds of questions we may fail to heed Æsop's warning and we "may lose the substance by grasping at the shadow" of language.

It is my belief that transformational theory has presented an essentially incorrect view of the nature of language by treating it as a self-contained system, independent of its use as a medium of human communication. In spite of this, certain insights into *structural* aspects of language have been achieved. And this is good. As Santayana has said, "It is a great advantage for a system of philosophy to be substantially true." Just how substantial are many of the supposed truths of transformational theory is the disconcerting question that pushes to the fore in view of the fact that language derives its value from its use alone. If a theory ignores the substance of language, what more than the shadow can it grasp? And of what value to the language teacher is the shadow of language when it is the substance that he must impart to his students?

The fact that transformational theory does attempt to treat sentences apart from their use is well established. As Schwarcz has observed, "With a very few exceptions, linguists [particularly transformationalists] have basically ignored the fundamental fact [that] language [is] a tool for *communicating something to somebody*" [his italics] (1969: 26). This point has been advanced on several occasions and has not been denied by transformationalists. In fact, in response to earlier criticisms of Reichling (1961) and Uhlenbeck (1963), Chomsky (1966b: 2-3) has argued that the transformational approach is quite correct--particularly in its assumption that language is a self-contained system, the communicative use of which is only incidental.

It seems sensible to say that it will be difficult to reason from a false premise to true conclusions; we would rather expect a false premise to lead to false conclusions. I would like to discuss four of the deductions of transformational linguistics which follow logically from the incorrect premise that language is a self-sufficient formal calculus, the informative use of which is derivative and subsidiary. (1) The first of these erroneous conclusions is the rejection of the psychological principles of association and generalization in favor of innate ideas. It has been argued that in view of recent developments in linguistic theory, it is clearly impossible for a child to learn a language on the basis of the principles proposed by psychologists. (2) The second incorrect supposition to be considered is that "deep structure" is not related in any knowable way to the perceived world. Though it is not very clearly defined, "deep structure" has to do with certain grammatical relations in sentences which speakers are assumed to tacitly recognize in understanding those sentences. (3) The third false conclusion is that a theory of competence--in the form of a transformational grammar based on an "ideal" speaker-hearer--is the best foundation for an understanding of the language performance of real people. It has been suggested that a theory of the capacity to use language is somehow prior to and independent of study of the language behavior which actually occurs. (4) The fourth point is that linguistic theory cannot now, nor is it likely in the future to be able to, suggest a sound basis for language teaching. With respect to this point, I will suggest an alternative approach based on the concept of pragmatics which I will define later.

Now let us consider the first incorrect conclusion--the rejection of the psychological principles of association and generalization in favor of innate ideas. In his Beckman lectures (1968), Chomsky suggests that the great bulk of psychological theory is misguided in the basis it proposes for learning. He says, "No one has succeeded in showing why the highly specific empiricist assumptions about how knowledge is acquired should be taken seriously" (1968: 53). Earlier he argued, "It seems to me impossible to accept the view that linguistic behavior is slowly acquired by reinforcement, association, and generalization..." (1966a: 43). As an alternative to these principles Chomsky has proposed the concept of "innate ideas". The latter are defined as inherited knowledge of the structure of natural languages. It is assumed that a child is born with knowledge of language which is merely triggered and set in action by external stimulation. Following this line of reasoning, Katz and Postal (1964), and Katz (1966) have attempted to prove that a child cannot learn a language by associating words and word sequences with elements of experience and generalization. They claim that the phonetic form of the utterances to which the child is exposed is too "impoverished" to enable the child through association and generalization to acquire the capacity to understand and produce sentences. This line of thought leads Katz to the conclusion that children must be born with an intrinsic knowledge of the structure of language--innate ideas (though no one yet has proposed precisely what form these ideas might take).

The conclusion that innate ideas are necessary rests on the false assumption that the phonetic form of utterances is the only information on which the child may base generalizations. This assumption in turn stems from the false premise that language is a self-contained system. When language use is taken into account, the phonetic form of utterances is obviously not the only information available to the child. The utterances which he observes occur in contexts which are rich in situational information. Words and sentences are observed to relate to persons, events, objects, and relations in a systematic and recurrent fashion. Katz's proof is inconsequential--it is based ultimately on the demonstrably false premise that language exists independent of its use.

Similarly, Chomsky's statement that "empiricist theories about language acquisition are refutable wherever they are clear..." (1965: 54) apart from the incorrect premise that language is self-contained, is without support. In fact, it seems extremely probable that the very principles which transformational theory rejects will constitute the essential ingredients of the innate capacity that the child brings to the learning situation. Cognitive psychologists have long recognized the importance of man's ability to categorize the elements of his experience. This capacity is reflected in the principle of generalization and is a process involved in practically every aspect of human cognition (Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, 1956, and Hunt, 1962). That this sort of induction will continue to defy formalization in the future is improbable. The fact that similar patterns are to the extent of their similarity substitutable one for the other is also a likely candidate for a basic innate principle. In addition to these, there is the complex sensory apparatus and the abstract memory space that the child inherits. Each of these notions has been challenged by transformationalists (Chomsky, 1965, 1968), yet it appears that the arguments against them are based entirely on a misconception concerning the nature of language. The child learning a language does not acquire a self-sufficient calculus, but a medium of communication which is related in knowable ways to his environmental experience.

The second point which I wish to discuss is the suggestion that "deep structure" is not related to sensory data in any way discoverable by the principles of generalization and association. In considering this point, the first question we must answer is, "What is meant by 'deep structure'?" Among the leading transformationalists, there seems to be little agreement. In one of his most recent papers, Chomsky (1969) has challenged the definitions of "deep structure" suggested by Lakoff (1968), McCawley (1968), and Fillmore (1968). Chomsky gives a general idea of what he means by the term as follows, "...A system of propositions expressing the meaning of a sentence is produced in the mind as the sentence is realized as a physical signal, the two being related by...grammatical transformations....We can distinguish the surface structure of the sentence, the organization into categories and phrases that is directly associated with the physical signal, from the underlying deep structure, also a system of categories and phrases with a more abstract character" (1968: 25). As an example, he suggests the sentence "A wise man is honest", which in terms of surface structure is analyzed into a subject, consisting of the phrase "a wise man" and a predicate made up of the sequence "is honest". The deep structure, according to Chomsky however, consists of two propositions, "A man is wise"; and "A man is honest", which though not asserted are "interrelated in such a way as to express the meaning of the sentence 'A wise man is honest'" (1968: 25).

Notice that if we take "A man is wise" and "A man is honest" in their most obvious senses, their combined meanings are quite different from the assertion "A wise man is honest". There is nothing in the supposed deep structure propositions to indicate that the sentence "A wise man is honest" means that to be wise one must be honest, or that wisdom requires honesty. Moreover, if we relate the sentence "A wise man is honest" to men and the characteristics of men in the real world, the sentence can be understood easily without appeal to the so-called deep structure propositions. We may relate the surface structure directly to the objects and qualities talked about. We understand the sentence because we know, in some sense, what wise men are. This is a different sort of thing than knowing the proposition "A man is wise". Wise men and propositions about wise men are of different logical types. We understand the predicate "is honest" because we know something about what it is to be honest. What we know is not the proposition, "A man is honest", rather it is a certain kind of behavior--namely, being honest. Here again there is a difference of logical type. This is the kind of difficulty encountered in the definition of deep structures in general. Do we understand the sentence "Apple pie is delicious" on the basis of the abstract propositions "Pie is apple" and "Pie is delicious"? Or, do we understand it because we know what apple pie is, and what delicious things are like. Do we comprehend the sentence "Pedantic scholarship is a lot of baloney" because we know the abstract propositions "Scholarship is pedantic" and "Scholarship is a lot of baloney"? Or, do we understand it because we know what scholarship, pedantic scholarship, and a lot of baloney are.

If deep structures are defined as abstract propositions or underlying sentences, how are they understood if not in terms of extra-linguistic experience? To suggest that one sentence is understood in terms of another sentence, or other sentences, leads us either into an infinite regress, or against a blank wall. Ultimately we must end up with sentences which are either uninterpreted or are associated via transformational rules with sentences which are uninterpreted. In addition to being circular, we will have indulged in the unfortunate error of confusing sentences with meanings. This is akin to the error which leads to the semantic and logical paradoxes--it stems from a failure to keep the symbol separate from what it symbolizes.[1] It has permeated current orthodoxy in linguistics through the premise that language is self-contained.

We come now to the third incorrect conclusion. It has been argued that the study of "competence", in particular, the competence of "an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly," etc. (Chomsky, 1965: 3), is the primary object of linguistic theory. According to Chomsky, the competence of this ideal speaker is represented in a transformational generative grammar (1965: 4), and it is "difficult to imagine any other basis on which a theory of performance might develop" (1965: 15). This view is entirely consonant with the premise that language is self-contained. If language were a purely formal abstract calculus, not related in knowable ways to the speaker's knowledge of the world, then its chief characteristics would be discoverable only within the calculus itself. However, language like every other blessing derives its value from its use alone. Therefore, the primary source of information for a theory of language must be its use in communicative contexts. That is, a theory of competence will have to be based on what is observed in language use. If anything, knowledge about the performance of real speakers and hearers must precede a theory of competence. This is quite the opposite of what Chomsky is proposing when he suggests that the principle object of linguistic theory is an ideal speaker.

If we look back to the original distinction between competence and performance--namely, that competence is the speaker's capacity to use his language, while performance is his actual use of it--it is reasonable to expect that an adequate theory of competence will explain linguistic performance. Transformational theory, however, has failed in an important respect as a theory of language competence. It does not account for the speaker's ability to use his language in communicating information. The fact that a person can perceive a situation and report it in an appropriate sentence, for example, the woman who says, "My girdle is killing me", and the simultaneous fact that someone else can understand her, is unexplained by the best of current transformational grammars. The basic processes of encoding and decoding information have been excluded from consideration. The central question of linguistics posed by Chomsky (1964: 50)--namely, how are speakers able to utter new sentences on appropriate occasions and how are hearers able to understand them--is left unanswered. While Chomsky notes the significance of the notion "appropriateness to the situation", he states that "just what 'appropriateness' ...may consist in we cannot say in any clear and definitive way..." He continues to maintain that "the normal use of language is...free from the control of detectable stimuli, either external or internal" (1968: 11).

All of this is quite consistent with the premise that language is a self-contained calculus. Moreover, in view of the impossibility of accounting for the communicative use of language with current transformational theory, it is not at all surprising that there is now a fairly general agreement that psycholinguists should provide a "theory of performance". (For example, see Chomsky, 1965: 10-15.) However, the call for a performance theory is quite inconsistent with the original definition of "performance" and with the motivation for distinguishing it from "competence".

On inspection of the communicative use of language we discover all of the creative aspects which motivated the original distinction between competence and performance. I may talk about "green and white striped elephants floating around in the air" though I have never seen any, and you, being a speaker of English will understand me. That is, you have a fairly good idea of what sort of thing I am talking about. I could as easily have mentioned "red and blue spotted baboons swimming in red ink", "orange and pink speckled birds flying across the North Pole" or any number of other things which you and I have never seen before, but which we have no difficulty in imagining. The generation of novel ideas is just as creative as the generation of new sentences; therefore, to relegate the use of language for communication to the realm of performance is clearly an error. In order to account for the actual use of language to convey information, we do not need a "theory of performance", but an adequate theory of competence.

The fourth conclusion of transformational theory which I want to discuss concerns its applicability to language teaching. In view of the discussion of the preceding points, it hardly seems surprising that transformationalists (Chomsky, 1966a) have concluded that their theory is not applicable to language teaching in any obvious and definite way. This admission seems to me to be correct and above reproach. In fact it is the one area in which Santayana's statement, "It is a great advantage for a system of philosophy to be substantially true", seems to apply to transformational theory. In view of this, I would like to suggest an alternative approach which seems to me to be both more correct and more clearly applicable to the problems of language teaching.

Albert Einstein once remarked that "if language is to lead at all to understanding there must be rules concerning the relations between the signs on the one hand, and on the other hand there must be a stable correspondence between signs and impressions" (Hayden and Alworth, 1965: 324). I would like to define pragmatics as the correspondence of linguistic forms to situational settings. The principal questions of the study of pragmatics are, "How is the linguistic form in question used?" "When is it appropriate?" "To what situations can it apply?" In brief, "How does linguistic form relate to contexts?"

Consider the following illustration, from the book Pragmatics of Communication (Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson, 1967: 20).

> In a fenced-in grassy field near a rural house, a bearded man is creeping around in figure-eights looking back over his shoulder and quacking without interruption ("quack, quack, quack"). A curious crowd of passers-by begins to form at the fence. One man with a look of horror runs off to a phone booth to call for the men in white. The man engaged in the bizarre quacking behavior is Konrad Lorenz, the famous ethologist. Far from being insane, he is performing an experiment in which he has substituted himself for the mother of the little ducklings which are following him, hidden in the tall grass, out of sight of the curious crowd.

The point of the illustration is simply this, if we want to understand the basis of complex behavior, we must consider the context in which it occurs... Language like every other blessing derives its value from its use alone, and it is used in contexts for communication.

Pragmatics places emphasis not so much on entities as on their relations in a broader context. It is because of the relations which hold between linguistic forms and situational settings that we are able to use language for communicating with each other. Linguistic forms have what William James (1907) called a "practical cash-value". This value is set by the rules of usage which govern what people say in order to convey meanings. These are the rules that a child learns in acquiring language, and that the foreign language teacher must instill in his students in teaching a language. By broadening the scope of our study of language from the sentence as an abstraction to the utterances of language in use, relations and patterns which were previously concealed come into view, and old concepts take on new meanings. Innate ideas look a great deal like the principles of association and generalization built into a complex sensory mechanism and an abstract memory space. Language competence is seen as the native speaker's capacity to use his language in communication--to encode and decode messages. Deep structures appear to be meanings--relations between situational settings (referents, actions, events, abstract concepts, etc.) and linguistic forms, rather than between sentences and underlying sentences.

Moreover, the concept of pragmatics is applicable to language teaching. It has definite implications for program design, classroom practice and student orientation. With respect to material construction it indicates that the language structures selected should be presented in meaningful contexts where a normal sequence of events is observed. That pattern drills should be designed so that instead of manipulating purely abstract elements of a calculus--usually a paradigm of totally unrelated sentences illustrating a point of syntax--the student should be using language in response to a paradigm of situations, where the meaning of what he is saying is the primary focal point. Instead of concentrating on the words coming out of his mouth he should be thinking about the ideas in his head that he wishes to communicate. With respect to classroom practice, in general, pragmatics defines the goal of teaching a language as inducing the student not *merely* to behave, or to manipulate meaningless sound sequences, but to send and receive messages in the foreign language. It is only in using language in this way that the student acquires it.

In the final analysis, language like every other blessing derives its value from its use alone.

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[1] For example, if a man says: "I am lying" and, if what he says is taken to refer to what he is saying at the time--that is, if we confuse the symbol with what is symbolized--then we find ourselves faced with a paradox. If the man is telling the truth then he must be lying because that's what he says he is doing. If he is lying then he must be telling the truth since that's what he says he is doing. In either case he is simultaneously lying and telling the truth. The same sort of problem arises in set-theory if a set is allowed to be a member of itself. Russell's solution to this in the theory of types was to require that a set be regarded as a higher logical type than its members. Actually, this only makes sense. Otherwise, the set would violate the intuitive requirement that it be identical with itself--if it contained itself, it would have to contain one member more than it actually contained. And, moreover, if the set which contained itself--logically being a different set from the set without itself as a member--were allowed to contain itself, we then find ourselves in an absurd infinite regress. (See Russell, 1919.)

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ABSTRACTS OF MASTER'S THESES

An Experimental Study of the Role of the Written Word in the Early Stages of Foreign Language Learning

Le Thi Kim Dung (Saigon, Vietnam)

An experiment was conducted at UCLA during the spring quarter, 1969 to investigate the role of the written word in the early stages of foreign language learning. The hypothesis of the experiment was that the exposure to letters right after foreign sounds was more of an aid to effective learning than the presentation of only the spoken form of the language. Twenty students from UCLA campus with no background in Vietnamese were paid for serving as subjects of the study. They were equally divided into two groups on the basis of the Modern Language Aptitude Test and according to sex and academic major. Both groups were taught ten grammatical patterns and forty-five lexical items of Vietnamese with the help of the same visual aids and by the same classroom procedures. The experimental variable was that the Vietnamese written words were presented only to the experimental group. After nine hours of instruction, both groups were given the same post-test which did not involve any Vietnamese written words. This achievement test was administered twice: once after the completion of the teaching phase and the other after a lapse of six days.

The results of the students' performance of the vocabulary tests showed that there were no significant differences between the group taught with the aid of written words and the group taught without them. In the learning of syntax, the only significant difference was found in the production part of the second grammar test; other differences favored the experimental group. The recognition test totals, though not significantly different, were again in favor of the experimental group. However the auditory comprehension parts of these recognition tests were statistically significant. Significant differences were also found in the production and auditory comprehension/directed communication test totals.

The results of the experiment indicate that the use of written words in elementary foreign language classes is of great help to the student in developing communication ability and attaining oral proficiency.

Extended Listening as an Instructional Strategy for the Teaching of English as a New Language

Beatrice Torres Estrada (Gallup, New Mexico)

This thesis is a research study to formulate a theoretical basis for the extended systemic listening strategy.

The extended systemic listening strategy is a way by which language learners hear the language, learn to listen to the language, and apply the listening skill to conceptualizing the system of rules of the language prior to oral production. By this means the learner acquires a certain amount of competence before he is required to perform.

The theoretical framework for the extended systemic listening strategy consists of a rationale and a set of strategies as suggested by several proponents of such a strategy and supported by certain psychologists, linguists, and methodologists in the field of TESL and linguistics.

The examination of the literature contributes the fundamental elements for the development of the rationale, which consists of three sets of assumptions dealing with the nature of language learning, the nature of language, and the nature of instruction. The rationale then forms the basis for the development of the set of strategies which includes the extended systemic listening strategy.

Chapter six is an application of my own conclusions to a lesson followed by a summarization of my conclusions formulated as a set of strategies including the extended systemic listening strategy and a rationale.

Black Students' Evaluations of Black Speakers

Anne Hensley (Farmington, Missouri)

The purpose of the study was to examine attitudes which black high school students hold towards other black persons when they speak standard English (SE) and when they speak Black English, i.e., non-standard Negro English (NNE).

Wallace Lambert's attitude studies were used as a pattern for this study. Bidialectal speakers of SE and NNE were found and recorded in both guises. Traits to be used in evaluating the speakers were obtained from a group of students similar to the ones tested. Rating sheets composed of the traits arranged in semantic differential form were used in eliciting the attitudes of 120 black high school students. Responses of 76 of the students were analysed using analysis of variance.

The analysis revealed an overwhelming preference for speakers of SE, even though the students tested were mainly speakers of NNE. Three reasons for the results were given. First, the context of the experiment, a school situation, may have influenced the subjects. Secondly, the traits may not have corresponded to the subjects' experience, thus limiting their responses. Finally, the subjects may indeed reject Black English, and accept the values of the dominant culture in this area.

Reading Attention Focus of Foreign Students

Pamela Polin (Los Angeles, California)

Twelve beginning-and twelve advanced-level foreign students, and twelve Anglos served as Ss in an experiment designed to see if variations in performance on a cross-out test would be obtained. Ss were asked to search through a reading passage, crossing out certain letters. Designated letters that remained uncancelled were then analyzed. It was hypothesized that beginning-level Ss would pay more attention to function words, while the other groups would focus more attention on the content words. To further test acoustic scanning, letters were included for cancellation which appeared both as single graphemes and as 2-letter units. For example, given the letter n in pin, they would cancel it, but not the n in ping where it is a part of the ŋ unit. Conversely, it was predicted that foreign students would mark letters in 2-letter units as frequently as single-letter examples. The letters cancelled were e on passage 1, and c, both as a single letter and part of the unit ch, on passage 2.

Significant differences were obtained for the three S groups. The Subject-Word Type interaction showed that beginning Ss attended word-by-word to the passages, crossing out letters as they occurred; advanced Ss marked fewer letters in function words than the beginners but crossed out as many in content words. Anglo Ss ignored function words, attending primarily to stressed syllables in content words.

Letter Type was also significant with Ss marking more e's and c's than ch's. Furthermore, beginning Ss were more likely to mark c's in ch units than were either of the other two groups.

While less proficient readers attended word-by-word and perhaps letter-by-letter, Anglo readers moved directly to major stress points, marking only the letters at these points. From the data it seemed that stress is the factor involved in reading attention focus. Experimental data on the effect of training in reading by stress groups is the logical next step for further studies.

A Study of Four English Modals in Engineering Textbooks and Implications for Material Preparation

Paul Strop (Reedley, California)

Four English modals--can, could, will, would--selected for high frequency of occurrence--were surveyed in engineering textbooks. Their use in this register was studied in detail to determine whether foreign students studying technical subjects would need special instruction beyond that offered in regular ESL classes in order to comprehend the meanings and uses of these modals in technical textbooks.

The use of the four modals in engineering textbooks proved significantly different from their use in ordinary spoken language; thus, students studying in this field need specific instruction in the language of the technical register if they are expected to understand their chosen field of study.

Presentation of these four modals was examined in the ESL textbooks currently in use at UCLA to determine whether the usage there corresponded to the needs of foreign students studying a technical subject. It was found that these textbooks emphasize oral forms of the language and neglect the specific skills needed by students studying in technical subject areas.

It was recommended that advanced classes of English as a Second Language be divided on the basis of the particular area of interest; and that the syllabus written for each particular group should contain the specific language items needed by that group if they are to comprehend the texts and lectures of their major field.

This study provided a description of a portion of the language used in the technical register. Future studies surveying language use in this area will complement the findings of this study and provide additional information that will help improve English language instruction for foreign students studying technical subjects.

A Survey of Attitudes of Teachers in Indiana toward Migrant Children

Victoria Lynn Ross (Walton, Indiana)

The purpose of this thesis is to survey and partially define the attitudes of teachers toward non-migrant and migrant students, making a comparison between the two findings.

The subjects for the study were elementary school teachers in thirty-eight Indiana schools that had a sizeable number of migrant students enrolled during some part of the regular school year. Each teacher received by mail a booklet which contained questions to elicit demographic data concerning the teachers, a semantic differential on the concept, 'Non-Migrant Students', and a semantic differential on the concept, 'Migrant Students'.

The results did show a significant (.001) difference in attitudes toward the two groups of students.

TEFL In Tunisia: A Sociolinguistic Perspective

Richard C. Van De Moortel (Battle Creek, Michigan)

This study attempts to critically assess the "raison d'être" of a language program in the light of its larger context--specifically, in the light of the educational system in which it must function and the society which it purports to serve. The program in question is the Tunisian secondary school EFL program put into effect under a recent educational reform, one of the objectives of which was to adapt the school system to national realities. The question under investigation in this study is the following: to what extent does the "Tunisian context" justify the current program, particularly its scope?

Four of the most important aspects of this context are taken up:

*the history of Tunisia's language situation, its current state (including the position of English) and problems;

*the evolution of Tunisia's educational system from colonial times through two post-independence reforms, with particular emphasis on the problems of the system and efforts to cope with them;

*the government's language policy vis-a-vis English as well as Arabic and French, particularly in education;

*the crucial question of student "felt-need" for English, information about which was obtained by means of a composition assigned in French classes.

A concluding chapter is devoted to a critical examination of the direction of the changes instituted by the new reform in the light of the study's findings, and to the formulation of various recommendations for bringing the program into better perspective within its larger context.

A Study of the Relationship Between Production and Perception in the Learning of New Sounds in a Foreign Language

Ginny Ann Wright(Oakdale, California)

An experiment conducted at the UCLA campus during the fall quarter of

1969 attempted to investigate the role of production and perception in the learning of new sounds in a foreign language. Does the ability to produce a new sound come before the ability to discriminate a new sound?

The major hypothesis was that for each of four new foreign sounds presented, a subject learns to discriminate one particular sound from three other sounds after he learns to produce that sound so that a native speaker can accept it as correct.

By means of a prerecorded, individually presented tape, sixteen American students were taught to discriminate and produce four initial stops of Hindi. The experiment consisted of eight cycles with each cycle divided into a learning period of two to six minutes and a testing period of three minutes. The testing consisted of a discrimination test and a production test.

Statistically significant results were found between the production and discrimination tasks and for the tasks over the eight cycles. Sound type was the single most important variable. It influenced the Ss' responses to the two tasks. Confusion matrices of Ss' discrimination scores pointed out that there were difficult discrimination pairs.

Ss learned to discriminate two of the sounds, but did not improve in their production of any of the sounds so that any noticeable learning in the production task seemed to take place.

This study did not find sufficient evidence that correct production of new sounds precedes correct discrimination of them.

Further studies involving other sounds and other formats are necessary in order to test the hypothesis and to investigate further the sequence of skills.

A Psycholinguistic Study of Achievement Motivation in Economic Development

Myrtis T. Campbell (Los Angeles, California)

This study used the findings of previous psychological work which showed the relation between language behavior, motivation, and economic under-development as a tool to determine whether the low level of economic development in the Republic of the Philippines possibly might be attributed to a low level of the Achievement Motive in the country at large.

242 male college students (Ss) from 8 widely distributed locations in the Philippines were given a projective-type test in a moderately aroused state of ego-involvement to estimate the strength of their motivation to achieve. A content analysis of Ss' responses showed a relatively low mean score of 2.19, S.D=26.

These results led to an examination of the language texts used to teach English in the Philippines. The texts showed very little evidence of achievement imagery. As a consequence this study offers suggestions to future textbook writers and educators for including material that might stimulate achievement oriented behavior and, in turn, be influential in the development of the country's economy.

The Listening Process: A Rationale for Pre-listening Instruction

Conley C. Day

This study is concerned with the teaching of listening as a subject matter area in a second-language curriculum. The hypothesis is that training the student to apply specific listening strategies to both speech and nonspeech sounds (i.e., to the structure of sound itself) will develop the auditory modality as a tool for learning, particularly for learning the new language.

The objectives of the study are to devise a rationale, and provide examples of an application of that rationale, consistent with the overall rationale of a total curriculum in which all the senses are considered potential learning modes. In accordance with the overall rationale, it is assumed that students, who in addition to acquiring a mastery of the structure of the subject matter (sound), acquire supportive habits and skills for using the knowledge gained, will learn to use the auditory modality as a learning tool.

Literature on acoustic phonetics is surveyed to specify the structure of sound. Literature on teaching listening, both in the first and in the second language, is reviewed and found inadequate to specify supportive habits and skills--termed here listening strategies--necessary to make listening a productive learning mode. On the assumptions that (1) learning strategies transfer across sensory modalities, and (2) listening and reading are both decoding functions of communication, research in visual perception and reading is investigated for insights into specific auditory perceptual and listening skills. Parallels drawn between visual and auditory perceptual skills are substantiated, and listening strategies defined, by interpretation of experimental research in auditory perception.

The research on reading indicates that certain visual perceptual skills precede reading for meaning (in the sense of comprehension and recall), and that these skills should be taught in a pre-reading program. The analogy is drawn that certain auditory perceptual skills precede listening for meaning (in the sense of comprehension and recall), and should be taught in a pre-listening program. On the basis of the research, a rationale is devised for a pre-listening program. An application of the rationale is suggested for Navajo-speaking six- and seven-year-olds in their first year of instruction in English.

The thesis lays the groundwork for future research in the following areas:

1) implementation of pre- and post-tests on the proposed application
2) revision of the proposed application with emphasis on making the proposed listening strategies known to the learner
3) investigation of the strength of any implications regarding the universality of the proposed rationale by experimenting in its use with students of other age groups and language families
4) development of a rationale and possible applications for listening curricula whose focus is comprehension in the new language.